# ELEMENTS

OF THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND.

VOL. II.

IN THE PRESS,

AND SPEEDILY WILL BE PUBLISHED,

THE THIRD AND FOURTH VOLUMES

OF

THIS WORK.

# ELEMENTS

OF THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND,

FROM

The INVASION of the ROMANS

TO

The Reign of GEORGE the Second.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of


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ELEMENTS

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## EDWARD the Second.

NEVER did a ſon leſs reſemble his father, than Edward the ſecond; a prince weak, indolent, without capacity, without virtues; born to obey minions, inſtead of governing a kingdom. Though twenty-three years of age, he was yet only known by the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, a quality from whence his people hoped a tranquil and happy reign. This hope vaniſhed as ſoon as he mounted the

A. D. 1307. Weakneſs of Edward the ſecond.

throne. Robert Bruce, in Scotland, inſpired new life into his party. Edward, in obedience to the commands of the late king, marched againſt him, but returned with precipitation, as if afraid of the fatigues of victory. His people had ſoon after the mortification to ſee him forget all decency, all affairs, all the duties of his ſtation, for a favorite whoſe chief merit was beauty; and to whoſe vices were owing all the ſubſequent misfortunes of the king, and of the ſtate. This favorite was Piers Gaveſton, a young gentleman of Guyenne, endowed with thoſe frivolous talents which weak minds admire; dextrous, inſinuating, preſuming, ſatirical; of a diſpoſition as proper to captivate his maſter's affections, as to make an unworthy uſe of his favor. Edward the firſt had baniſhed him, and had exacted from his ſon a promiſe never to ſuffer him again to approach his preſence. The young king loſt not a moment to recall this Gaſcon; gave him the earldom of Cornwall [a];

Gaveſton the king's favorite.

[a] Which had eſcheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, ſon of Richard, king of the Romans.

married

married him to his niece, and made him in ſome meaſure arbiter of the government. All is loſt when a king cauſes to reign, under the ſanction of his name, a man juſtly odious and contemptible. The ſudden elevation of Gaveſton was ſufficient to make him enemies; his pride and inſolence drew on him many more. The young queen, Iſabella of France, who was lately arrived in England, could not pardon him the aſcendant he had gained over her huſband. The earl of Lancaſter, firſt prince of the blood, put himſelf at the head of the barons, determined to ruin him. Being aſſembled in parliament at Weſtminſter, they demanded his baniſhment, and engaged the biſhops in their deſign. Edward was conſtrained to yield; but he only abſented him from his own preſence by making him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and giving him new proofs of his affection. He ſoon after recalled him, notwithſtanding his oaths, for which he obtained the pope's diſpenſation. The barons ſeemed appeaſed. Gaveſton revived their hatred by a redoubled degree of arrogance.

The elevation of Gaveſton cauſes a revolt.

A. D. 1308.

A weak government could not ſtand the ſhock of a numerous body of powerful and ſeditious nobles. They took their ſeats in parliament attended by an armed force, and gave law to the monarch: they obliged him to delegate his whole authority to twelve perſons, whoſe ordinances ſhould be obſerved in perpetuity. This council, eſtabliſhed for more than a year, exerciſed the ſovereign power, reformed abuſes, regulated the ſtate, baniſhed evil counſellors, particularly the favorite, whom they declared an enemy to the kingdom if he ever dared to reenter it. The king only waited a favorable opportunity to retract all he had been obliged to grant. Gaveſton was dearer to him than his crown. He removed his court to York, where thinking himſelf more at liberty, he again recalled the only object of his tenderneſs. The barons ran to arms, purſued the monarch, and beſieged the favorite in the caſtle of Scarborough. He capitulated and ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Pembroke, on condition, that, if affairs were not accommodated in two months, he ſhould be put

The king deprived of his authority.

A. D. 1312.

put into the ſame ſtate as when he ſurrendered.

Pembroke, apparently in concert with his friends, left his priſoner weakly guarded. They carried him off in his abſence. The earls of Lancaſter, Warwick, Arundel, and Hereford, cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, in contempt of the laws, and their own engagements. Edward was tranſported with rage at hearing of the death of his minion. He threatened to exterminate the rebels: but it was not long before he pardoned them; accepting of ſome exterior ſubmiſſions, calculated to preſerve, in appearance, the dignity of his crown. All the forces of the kingdom were now employed againſt Scotland. Bruce had maintained his ground there, in the ſpirit of a politician and a hero. Edward, at the head of an hundred thouſand men, if we may believe the Scottiſh [b] hiſtorians, whoſe accounts

A. D. 1314. The Engliſh defeated in Scotland.

[b] We find in Rymer, vol. iii. p. 481. a liſt of all the infantry aſſembled from all parts of England and Wales; and they, are only 21,540. It is not likely, therefore, that the whole army could be near ſo numerous as is reported. HUME.

The Engliſh, Gaſcons, and Welſh were ſo

are undoubtedly exaggerated, marched the third time againſt this prince, in a ſtate to apprehend no obſtacle to his deſigns. He found him encamped at Bannock-bourn, near Sterling. The fate of the kingdom depended on one battle. Hatred to tyranny, love of freedom, danger, and deſpair, animated the courage of a nation which ſaw itſelf on the point of falling into ſlavery. The admirable diſpoſition of Bruce's army ſupplied the place of numbers. His ſtratagems were as uſeful to him as his valor. The trenches which he had cauſed to be dug, and covered with turf, broke the Engliſh cavalry. A body of vagabonds, whom he had furniſhed with ſtandards, appeared to the enemy a new army, which inſpired them with terror. A compleat victory fixed the crown on his head. Edward, with difficulty, ſaved himſelf. His nephew, the earl of Gloceſter, periſhed in the action. The conqueror ravaged the north of England, and made an incurſion into Ireland, from whence he was obliged

ready to obey him, that, by June 1314, he ſaw himſelf at the head of a hundred thouſand men. RAPIN.

to return, after loſing great part of his army by famine.

The Engliſh barons, indifferent in regard to the public good, and enemies to the royal authority whenever they were in a condition to throw off their dependence, became more inſolent as the king grew leſs formidable. The earl of Lancaſter, and his partizans, obliged him to ſubmit to all their caprices. A. D. 1315.

A new favorite ſoon furniſhed them, like the unhappy Gaveſton, with pretences to revolt. Hugh Spencer the younger, as much diſtinguiſhed by his birth as by the charms of his perſon, reigned in the heart of Edward, and excited the averſion of the nobles, whom he affected to ſet at defiance. As rapacious as he was inſolent, he procured a grant of a barony [c], which he pretended had reverted to the crown; and what was properly the ſubject of a law-ſuit, be-

[c] The barony of Gower, ſettled by William de Braouſe on John de Mowbray, his ſon-in-law, who, on his deceaſe, had entered into poſſeſſion, without the accuſtomed formalities. Edward had married him to his niece, heireſs to the earl of Gloceſter.

A new revolt of the barons.

came the occaſion of a rebellion. Lancaſter and ſeveral others came with arms in their hands to demand the exile of the favorite, and even of his father, a man wiſe, and worthy the monarch's confidence. On Edward's refuſal, they entered London, preſented in parliament an accuſation againſt the Spencers, and, without any legal evidence, obtained ſentence of baniſhment and confiſcation of goods againſt them. The barons retired at length, after having received a pardon for this violence. Their ſecurity furniſhed the king with the means of puniſhing ſo criminal an attempt. He raiſed troops, recalled the two exiles, declared their ſentence illegal, and contrary to the great charter; purſued the authors of the conſpiracy, and made himſelf maſter of the perſon of Lancaſter. This lord, the firſt prince of the blood royal, and the moſt powerful nobleman in the kingdom, was condemned to death and executed. A court martial aſſumed the right of parliament in an affair of this importance; a ſingular proof of the little regard then paid to the laws of the kingdom. The

A. D. 1322. A prince of the blood royal executed.

younger

younger Spencer, far from endeavoring to ſoften the public hatred by an equitable conduct, embittered it by freſh violences; and the king, deſpairing to reduce Scotland whilſt his kingdom reſounded with the murmurs of diſcontent, concluded a truce of thirty years, without, however, giving the title of king to Bruce, who was not the leſs firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne he ſo well deſerved to fill.

A. D. 1325. Revolution in the kingdom.

Storms more violent and dangerous were now gathering over the head of Edward. Charles the Fair, third ſon and third ſucceſſor of Philip, having ſummoned him to do homage for Guyenne, the favorite threw difficulties in the way of this voyage, neceſſary to his maſter, but dangerous to his own proper intereſts. The queen was then in France, negotiating an alliance with Charles, her brother. She propoſed that the king ſhould cede Guyenne to the prince of Wales (afterwards Edward the third), and ſend him to Paris to perform the duties of vaſſalage. This propoſal covered a ſnare which was not perceived. Edward and Spencer accepted it with joy. The young prince arrived in

Conſpiracy of the queen.

France ſoon after. His mother, a mortal enemy to the minion who governed her huſband, entered into the ſtricteſt union with Mortimer, one of the principal leaders in this rebellion: ſhe forgot, in the ſociety of this too amiable youth, what ſhe owed to a huſband and a king whom ſhe deſpiſed. Edward in vain commanded her to return. She declared her reſolution to continue in France as long as he ſuffered Spencer to remain in England. The king's two brothers [*d*], the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſome other prelates, and ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable barons, ſecretly held correſpondence with the queen. Charles the Fair did not dare to ſupport her openly; but having received ſome aſſiſtance from the count of Hainault, whoſe daughter young Edward had eſpouſed, ſhe ſet forward, accompanied by her ſon, at the head of three thouſand men, and landed on the coaſt of Suffolk, whither the princes of the blood, and other malecontents, haſtened to join her. By proclaiming that

[*d*] Thomas earl of Norfolk, and Edward earl of Kent.

ſhe

ſhe came to deliver the kingdom from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of the chancellor Baldoc their creature, ſhe gained almoſt the whole nation to her intereſts. London revolted. The provinces followed the example of the capital; the king fled, without finding any-where faithful ſubjects to receive him: the elder Spencer, delivered up by the garriſon of Briſtol, was, though ninety years of age, and reſpectable by his merit and virtue, hanged like a common malefactor: the favorite, and the earl of Arundel, ſhared the ſame fate: they were all executed without any form of trial. The chancellor being a prieſt, the rebels did not dare to treat him in the ſame manner. They conducted him to London; the populace covered him with blows, of which he expired in priſon. This furious multitude had already let looſe their rage on the biſhop of Exeter, whom they had beheaded.

A. D. 1326. Iſabella dethrones her huſband.

Edward hid himſelf in the mountains of Wales, where he was diſcovered and arreſted. Queen Iſabella, to fill up the meaſure of her violences, ſummoned, in the name of this prince, a parliament deſtined to de-

Edward is compelled to reſign his crown.

throne him. He was accuſed, not of crimes, but of incapacity and weakneſs. The factions had annihilated all juſtice. The parliament depoſed the king with as little ceremony as they would have baniſhed a private ſubject, and ſent a deputation to demand his reſignation of the crown to his ſon. Menaces and fear drew from him his aſſent. The eyes of the public were at length opened on ſuch horrible enormities. A queen cruel, perfidious, unfaithful to her huſband, and hypocritical enough to affect to pity the man whom ſhe ſo inhumanly oppreſſed, could not long eſcape the hatred which wickedneſs, when ſtripped of its diſguiſe, never fails to inſpire. Whilſt the public regarded her with horror, the unhappy Edward excited compaſſion, and even reſpect; for we often reſpect in calamity thoſe, whom in proſperity we deſpiſed. Two barbarous miniſters of Mortimer's iniquity treated the captive monarch like the loweſt of men. To obey their maſter without leaving any trace of the murder, they conveyed into the king's body a red hot iron, which they inſerted through a horn. Gour-

nay and Maltravers (thus were theſe two monſters named), became now the execration of the human race, and fled the kingdom. A. D. 1327. Tragical death of the king.

Edward the ſecond was forty-two years of age [e]; a prince who, though treated as a tyrant, was of a mild and gentle diſpoſition; incapable of governing by himſelf, his reign would probably have been tranquil, if he had beſtowed his favor on worthy objects; or if the ambition of the great men had not diſdained the authority of a miniſter.

It has been obſerved, that under this reign the price of grain was one half of the preſent value; whereas that of cattle was only an eighth, which ſhews how little agriculture flouriſhed at that time. The barons, in general, cultivated their lands by their own ſervants. They conſumed the produce amongſt a continual croud of gueſts and retainers, who found Agriculture. Hoſpitality of the nobility.

[e] This king left four children, two ſons and two daughters: Edward, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor; John, created afterwards earl of Cornwal, who died young at Perth: Jane, afterwards married to Reginald, count of Gueldres. HUME.

always

always a hoſpitable reception at their houſes. From thence aroſe the numerous train of partizans attached to their fortunes and their perſons. Flanders was the only country in the north of Europe, where commerce was in a tolerable ſtate. We will not ſtop to enter minutely into the important affair of the deſtruction of the knights-templars: a monſtrous event, which belongs more properly to the hiſtory of France. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that England furniſhed very ample teſtimonies in their favor.

It was at this time believed, that the lepers, who were very numerous, had in ſeveral countries conſpired with the Jews and the Saracens to poiſon the fountains; an accuſation which we agree with Mr. Hume in ſuppoſing chimerical, but which is mentioned as a fact by the generality of hiſtorians, and which drew on theſe unhappy people all the ſeverities of the law.

## EDWARD the Third.

THE young king, placed before his time on his father's throne by the criminal ambition of an inhuman mother, had from nature all thoſe ſhining qualities, which predict the glory of a reign, and the happineſs of a ſtate. His council of regency, compoſed of twelve perſons [*f*], ſix biſhops and ſix lay peers, regulated the affairs of government; but he began himſelf to give proofs of his courage at the head of his armies. The Scots, commanded by the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, two celebrated generals, had taken advantage of favorable conjunctures to make an incurſion into the kingdom. It was in enterprizes of this nature, that they were chiefly A. D. 1327. War with Scotland.

[*f*] A council of regency was likewiſe appointed by parliament, conſiſting of twelve perſons; five prelates, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Worceſter and Hereford; and ſeven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the Lords Wake, Ingham, Percy, and Roſs. The earl of Lancaſter was appointed guardian and protector of the king's perſon. HUME.

formidable,

formidable. All their equipage conſiſted in a bag of oatmeal, which every horſeman carried behind him. They made them into cakes in the midſt of the fields. The cattle they ſeized, furniſhed them alſo with a ready ſubſiſtence. Their whole cookery conſiſted in ſkinning the animal, ſuſpending the ſkin on ſtakes, pouring in water, lighting a fire under, and boiling the meat in this extraordinary kind of cauldron. A country was ſoon ravaged by ſuch ſoldiers. They were inſtantly out of ſight of their enemy. Edward marched againſt them with ſixty thouſand men. His greateſt difficulty was to find them. Their ſkilful generals were ſo advantageouſly encamped [g], that, notwithſtanding all his ardor, he could neither attack, nor force them to an engagement. Douglas penetrated one night into the Engliſh camp, accompanied by two hundred of his moſt reſolute followers, and was on the point of taking priſoner the king himſelf, who had however the good fortune to eſcape, after a brave and

Edward unable to ſubdue the Scots.

[g] Over-againſt Stanhope park, on a hill, at the foot of which flowed the river Were.

vigorous

vigorous reſiſtance. The Scots reached their country, without meeting with any check. The bad ſucceſs of this expedition was charged on the infamous Mortimer. He had uſurped all the authority of the government. More deteſted than the favorites in the late reign, and ſenſible of the neceſſity of peace to the maintenance of his power, he ſoon after treated with Robert Bruce, acknowledged him king, renounced all the pretenſions of the Engliſh on Scotland, and agreed to accept of a compenſation of thirty thouſand marks, which this kingdom engaged to pay to England. Though the parliament had ratified this treaty, all the nation murmured at it. The earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaſter, all princes of the blood royal, united againſt the miniſter. Mortimer wiſhed to revenge himſelf, and at the ſame time to intimidate his enemies. The weak underſtanding of the earl of Kent ſeconded his wicked deſigns. He contrived to betray him into a belief, that Edward the ſecond, his brother, was ſtill alive. The credulous prince formed a deſign to re-eſtabliſh him. This furniſhed a pretext

A. D. 1328. A ſhameful treaty.

of

of accuſation. The nation ſaw the uncle of their king condemned to loſe his head; and his great poſſeſſions confiſcated, and given to a ſon of Mortimer's. So many crimes could not long remain unpuniſhed, under a prince capable of governing. The king, who was now eighteen years old, reſolved to rid himſelf of this monſter. He ſurpriſed him in the caſtle of Nottingham, where he was ſhut up with queen Iſabella. The parliament tryed, and condemned him to be hanged. The notoriety of the facts ſufficed to his condemnation, without examining witneſſes, or hearing the criminal. Twenty years after, his ſentence was annulled, as illegal, in favor of his ſon. If the laws were not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the party who were in poſſeſſion of power, they were however of ſufficient efficacy to furniſh a pretence, when deſired, to reverſe arbitrary judgements. The queen was confined to her houſe [*b*], where her ſon ever after viſited her once or twice a year. He applied himſelf diligently from this time to

A. D. 1330. Execution of Mortimer.

[*b*] At Riſings, near London.

remedy

remedy the diſorders of the ſtate; ſtrictly enjoining the judges to render juſtice without regarding the orders of his miniſters, and even going out in perſon againſt the troops of robbers with which the kingdom was infeſted. The ardor of youth and ambition excited Edward to more glorious enterprizes. Robert Bruce, that hero ſo worthy of a throne, was dead, and had left his ſon, David, a minor, under the guardianſhip of the earl of Murray. Some Engliſh lords, who had met with delays in the promiſed reſtitution of the lands they claimed in this kingdom, conſpired in favor of Edward Baliol, ſon of king John Baliol, who was reduced in France to a private condition. The Engliſh monarch, without declaring himſelf openly, encouraged Baliol to an enterprize of which he hoped himſelf to reap the principal advantage.

Affairs of Scotland.

A. D. 1332.

The Scots, ill diſciplined, and ill conducted (for Murray was dead, and Douglas engaged in a cruſade in Spain againſt the Mahometans), loſt ſeveral battles, and were ſubdued by a handful of ſoldiers. Baliol, having been crowned, ſent away part of his troops; but

but did not long enjoy his conqueſt. The Scots drove him ſuddenly out of the kingdom. He made an offer to Edward of acknowledging him ſovereign, and renewing the homage which had been ſuppreſſed. The Engliſh monarch, determined to place him on the throne, marched into Scotland, and gained a complete victory, which coſt him only one knight, one eſquire, and thirteen private ſoldiers. He reeſtabliſhed Baliol, received his homage, and kept poſſeſſion of the moſt important places, as annexed for ever to his crown [*i*]. A king received by force, and odious for his connexions with England, could not long keep in ſubjection a people naturally turbulent and unquiet, more jealous of liberty than of life. They again expelled him. Edward carried ravage and deſtruction into Scotland, without ſubduing the obſtinate courage of the Scots.

Succeſſion to the crown of France.

Charles the Fair, who died 1328, having left no male children, Philip de Valois, his couſin-german, firſt prince

[*i*] Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland. HUME.

of

of the blood, was unanimouſly acknowledged his ſucceſſor. It had been ſome time before decided, that the Salic law excluded females from ſucceeding to the crown. It was a fundamental law of the ſtate, eſtabliſhed, not on the ancient Salic law, which related to other objects, but on conſtant uſage and invariable principles.

Edward the third, as ſon to Iſabella, ſiſter to the laſt kings, pretended, notwithſtanding, a right to the kingdom of France; a pretenſion the more unwarrantable, as the three laſt kings, ſons of Philip the Fair, had left daughters ſtill living; whoſe rights, if the females had been admitted to inherit, were evidently prior to his; as well as thoſe of the king of Navarre, deſcended from a daughter of Lewis Hutin, the immediate ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair. The ambitious Edward, far from inſiſting at firſt on ſo chimerical a title, was obliged the following year, 1329, to do homage for Guyenne to Philip de Valois, and by this act acknowledge him his ſovereign. But an unjuſt cauſe ceaſes to appear ſuch, when there is reaſon to hope ſucceſs. Opportunity determines the conduct of the greater

greater part of mankind; and one now preſented itſelf too ſeducing for the young king to reſiſt. Robert D'Artois [k], a prince of the blood of France, convicted of a criminal action, took refuge in England; and, abandoning himſelf to all the tranſports of rage, excited Edward to revive his pretenſions. The aſylum which Philip de Valois had given to David Bruce, the dethroned king of Scotland, was a new injury which irritated Edward. Menaced with the loſs of Guyenne if he protected a vaſſal convicted of felony, he reſolved to attack France. He made alliances in the Low-countries, and in Germany. He even deſcended to pay court (ſo much does ambition humiliate its votaries) to the

[k] Robert D'Artois was deſcended of the blood royal of France, was a man of great character and authority, had eſpouſed Philip's ſiſter, and, by his birth, talents, and credit, was intitled to make the higheſt figure, and to fill the moſt important offices, in the monarchy. This prince had loſt the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birth-right, by a ſentence, commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was ſeduced to attempt the recovering poſſeſſion by an action ſo unworthy of his rank and character as a forgery. HUME.

celebrated

celebrated James D'Artevelle, a brewer of Ghent, then abſolute maſter of the Flemings, who had revolted againſt their prince. This man invited him to paſs into the Low-countries. The parliament ſeconded this enterprize: the king began his march. He received from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria the title of *Vicar of the empire*, to give him an undiſputed right to command the German princes. He took that of king of France, by the advice of D'Artevelle, to remove the ſcruples of the Flemings, who, though in rebellion againſt the count of Flanders their immediate ſovereign, were afraid to violate their fidelity to their liege lord. This uſurpation of a title ſo dear to the French, is the principal ſource of that implacable animoſity between them and the Engliſh; an animoſity more violent in the latter, and which neither the ſentiments of humanity, nor the commerce of literature, have been able in ſo many years to extinguiſh. Will there never arrive a time, when reaſon and philoſophy will have ſufficient force to deſtroy theſe national antipathies, ſo contrary to the true intereſts of mankind?

A. D. 1338. War with France.

We

We may hope it, ſince France and Auſtria are friends.

A. D. 1339. Beginning of the war. The immenſe preparations for this campaign came to nothing. Edward entered Picardy at the head of fifty thouſand men; but, not daring to give battle to a ſuperior enemy, he returned, diſmiſſed his troops, and paſſed over to England, where the parliament gave him ſome inquietude. The confirmation of the two charters procured him new ſubſidies. The parliament took, however, the precaution to declare, that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms were abſolutely diſtinct and independent. They apprehended, and perhaps with reaſon, that if they were united, the ſovereign would prefer the greater kingdom, and regard England only as a province. The following year, the French ſuffered a terrible blow in the naval battle of L'Ecluſe [*l*]. Their fleet of four hundred veſſels, which contained forty thouſand men, waited for Edward in the narrow part of the channel. The Engliſh, already more expert ſeamen, knew how to take advantage of the

Naval battle.

[*l*] Or Sluys.

wind,

wind, and to turn their backs on the ſun. The Flemings came out to their aſſiſtance during the engagement. Thirty thouſand French, with their admiral, periſhed in this action. More than half their fleet fell into the hands of the enemy. Edward owed this memorable victory to his own dexterity and valor. He appeared in France at the head of an hundred thouſand men; the greater part of them foreigners. Philip, though the ſtronger, very prudently declined a battle, and ſuffered him to beſiege Tournay. Wearied out with the reſiſtance made by the beſieged, and apprehending their being relieved, after the ſiege had laſted ten weeks, the Engliſh monarch ſent a herald to challenge Philip to a ſingle combat, which ſhould decide their right to the crown. The king of France, to whom however he did not deign to give that title, nobly replied, that a vaſſal could not challenge his ſovereign; that beſides, the hazard ought to be equal; and that, if the kingdom of England was, as well as that of France, made the prize of the conqueror, he would without difficulty accept his de-

Edward ſends a challenge to Philip.

ſiance. Theſe bravadoes were conſonant to the manners of the age: but there is not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that either of the kings really meant to engage in ſuch an adventure. The counteſs of Hainault, their common relation [*m*], who had embraced a religious life, came out of her convent, to endeavour to inſpire them with more pacific ſentiments. Her zeal ſo far ſucceeded as to procure a truce. The Pope, in vain, labored to mediate a peace. Edward inſiſted on Philip's releaſing Guyenne from all dependance, and on his ceaſing to protect Scotland. Far from being in a ſituation to give the law, abandoned by the greateſt part of his allies, and harraſſed by his creditors, he found himſelf obliged to ſteal away ſecretly, in order to return to his kingdom. The nature of the ſubſidies had contributed to embarraſs him. They were paid, on account of the ſcarcity of money, in goods of different kinds; in lambs, in corn, in ſacks of wool, which could neither

Nature of the ſubſidies.

Miniſters diſgraced.

[*m*] This princeſs was mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip. HUME.

be

be ſold, nor diſpoſed of with the diſpatch the king's exigencies required. He was enraged at his miniſters, and the collectors of the tax, as if the ill ſucceſs of the expedition had been their crime. The biſhop of Chicheſter chancellor, the biſhop of Litchfield treaſurer, and Stratford archbiſhop of Canterbury, felt the weight of his diſpleaſure. The eccleſiaſtics being almoſt the only perſons capable of buſineſs, and alſo leſs expoſed to the temptation of plundering the ſtate to enrich their families, were employed in preference to all others in affairs of government; but the priviledges of the church, carried to exceſs, rendered them ſometimes more dangerous than laymen. Stratford no ſooner ſaw himſelf attacked, than he made uſe of the arms with which his prelatical character furniſhed him for his defence. He iſſued a general excommunication againſt all perſons whatſoever, who ſhould violate the eccleſiaſtical immunities, or accuſe a biſhop of treaſon or other crimes. He wrote to Edward a letter, in which the ſpiritual authority was in the moſt pompous terms elevated above the temporal. Not

A. D. 1341. Primate irritated.

having been ſummoned to parliament, he preſented himſelf there in his pontifical robes, and demanded a ſeat as the firſt peer of the realm. The door was during two days kept ſhut againſt him; but Edward foreſaw the conſequences, and prudently put an end to the quarrel.

A ſtatute contrary to the royal authority.

His diſputes with the clergy, his immenſe debts, and ſome acts of arbitrary power, having excited the murmurs of the public, the parliament took that opportunity to invade the prerogatives of the crown. They required a new confirmation of the Great Charter; they enacted that a peer ſhould not be puniſhed but by the ſentence of his peers aſſembled in parliament; they demanded that the great offices of ſtate ſhould be filled by the advice of the council, and with the conſent of the barons. That at the beginning of every ſeſſions the miniſters, reduced to a private ſtation, ſhould be obliged to render an account of their conduct, and to ſubmit to the judgement of Parliament: and if they were found guilty of maladminiſtration, others ſhould be ſubſtituted in their place. This ſtatute,

ſo

ſo contrary to the royal authority, and ſo conformable to the ancient uſurpations of the nobles, was confirmed by the king, who had the moſt urgent occaſion for ſubſidies. His real intention was, however, not to obſerve it. He proteſted in ſecret againſt the ſuppoſed violence which had extorted this conceſſion: and when he had received the ſubſidy, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, declared openly that he had diſſembled, and that his heart had not accorded with his mouth [*n*]. Under another prince, this unworthy action would have cauſed a general rebellion. Edward had the dexterity to re-eſtabliſh his power, and he, two years after, engaged the parliament to repeal the ſtatute. A fatal revolution in Britany determined him once more to take arms againſt France.

Edward confirms the ſtatute, and retracts his conſent.

War of Britany.

John the third, duke of Britany, having no children, had choſen for his heireſs, the daughter of the count

[*n*] He ratified this ſtatute in full parliament; but he *ſecretly* entered a proteſt of ſuch a nature as was ſufficient, one ſhould imagine, to deſtroy all truſt and confidence with his people. HUME.

de Penthievre, his brother, and had married her to the count de Blois, nephew to Philip. The count de Montfort, brother to the duke, but born of a ſecond marriage, had acknowledged the rights of his niece, and taken the oath of fidelity to the count de Blois. The death of John made him forget his promiſes. He took poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, and ſecretly treated with Edward. Robert D'Artois having rekindled the ambition and the hopes of this monarch, the war was reſolved on. Montfort fell into the hands of Philip. His impriſonment would have terminated the diſpute, if he had not poſſeſſed in his princeſs a heroine capable of the moſt illuſtrious exploits.

The counteſs of Montfort.

Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Montfort, armed Britany in her cauſe, fought at the head of her troops, and valiantly ſupported a ſiege in Hennebon. Edward ſent her ſuccours, and came in perſon to her aſſiſtance as ſoon as the truce expired. Three ſieges, which he undertook at once, miſcarried: proviſions began to fail him. He willingly accepted the mediation

diation of the pope's legates [o]; a new truce was concluded for three years. Edward, who wiſhed only to extricate himſelf from a dangerous ſituation, determined, to all appearance, to continue the war. The king of France having cauſed ſome lords [p] to be executed, who were guilty of treaſon, and of holding a correſpondence with the Engliſh, he complained of this act of ſeverity as an infraction of the truce. The parliament, which he affected to conſult, entered with ardor into all his views, and granted him new ſubſidies.

[o] The cardinals, Paleſtrini and Freſcati.

[p] Rapin differs from our author: "If we ſuppoſe, that theſe lords were only become Edward's ſecret friends ſince the concluſion of the truce, we may put the two following queſtions: Firſt, whether Philip had a right to cauſe them to be ſiezed in Bretaign during the truce? Secondly, whether, as ſovereign lord of Bretaign, he might exerciſe ſuch a power over theſe lords, eſpecially conſidering, that in putting them to death in ſo illegal a manner, it was rather a murder than an act of juſtice? Be that as it will, Edward maintained, that by this action the truce was broken; and Philip aſſerted, that Edward made uſe of this wrong pretence to violate it." RAPIN.

A. D. 1346. Guyenne was the theatre where hoſtilities were commenced. The Engliſh had at firſt the advantage, but afterwards kept on the defenſive. Lord Norwich, beſieged in Angouleme, reduced to extremities, and unwilling to yield himſelf priſoner, employed a ſtratagem which gives ſome idea of the ancient manners. He propoſed to the duke of Normandy a ſuſpenſion of arms for the following day, being the feaſt of the virgin, for whom both the duke and himſelf had great devotion. An armiſtice was agreed on. In the morning, the garriſon, with all their baggage, advanced towards the camp. The French ran to arms. Norwich ſent to remind the duke of his engagements. *I ſee*, ſaid this prince, *that he has duped me*; *but let us content ourſelves with getting poſſeſſion of the place.*

The Engliſh in France. Edward was already embarked for Guyenne. The winds were contrary. The miſeries of France took riſe from the advice of a Frenchman: Geoffry d'Harcourt, a Norman lord, more formidable to his country than Robert D'Artois had been (who was lately dead), had taken refuge in England,

land, after having incurred the anger of Philip. He perſuaded the king to attempt a deſcent in Normandy, where the riches of the country, and the great diſtance of the French army, promiſed greater advantages than could be hoped from the expedition of Guyenne. The Engliſh diſembarked without meeting any reſiſtance, over-ran Normandy, took ſeveral cities; attacked Caen, one of the moſt wealthy in the province; pillaged it three days, committed every where the moſt terrible exceſſes, even almoſt to the gates of Paris, and ſeemed reſolved to ravage rather than conquer the kingdom.

Battle of Creſſy.

Edward was very ſoon ſenſible of the embarraſſment of his ſituation. Preſſed by Philip, who had aſſembled his forces, ſhut up by rivers in a country already laid waſte, he endeavored to retire into Flanders, but found his paſſage ſtopped by the Somme. A peaſant ſaved him by ſhewing him a ford. He gained an eminence near the village of Creſſy, ranged his army in this advantageous poſt, and diſpoſed all with the moſt admirable prudence for the engagement, which

he could not avoid. Philip, breathing revenge, purſued him with the utmoſt ardor. The French, fatigued with their march, learned that the enemy expected them in order of battle. The wiſeſt counſels were urged, to perſuade Philip to wait till the morning. He ſent orders to the troops to ſtop; but the fiery impatience of the nobles could not be reſtrained: one diviſion drew on another; their great army, four times as numerous as the Engliſh, arrived in preſence of the enemy, and, believing itſelf ſure of victory, haſtened to a certain defeat. Edward inſpired his troops with the ſame courage with which he was himſelf animated; *I aſk nothing of you*, ſaid he, *but to imitate my example, and that of the prince of Wales.* This young hero, aged only fifteen years, had been lately knighted. He ſhewed himſelf worthy of his father. Fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bow men, who compoſed the advanced guard of the French army, fled on the firſt diſcharge made by the Engliſh archers, the moſt ſkilful of all Europe. Their flight put the cavalry into diſorder. The prince of Wales threw himſelf on them,

The prince of Wales gains the

them, and ſuſtained a terrible combat. An officer, ſent by the earl of Warwick, ran to inform Edward of the peril in which his ſon was, and deſired ſuccours. *Is he dead or wounded?* ſaid the king coldly; the officer anſwered in the negative. *Return then*, ſaid he, *and tell my ſon, I reſerve to him the honor of this day, and that it is my deſire he ſhould win his ſpurs.* The battle was ſoon only a ſlaughter of the French. The count of Alenſon, brother to Philip, the kings of Bohemia and Majorca, a number of princes and great lords, twelve hundred knights, four thouſand men at arms, and about thirty thouſand private ſoldiers periſhed, this and the following day; the Engliſh having loſt no more than three knights, and a few inferior combatants. Such advantages had prudence and military order over numbers and temerity.

Artillery.

The Engliſh are ſaid to have availed themſelves in this battle of ſome pieces of cannon. This diſcovery had been ſome time made. How can we account for the French having neglected to make uſe of it?

After the victory, Edward ran to embrace the prince of Wales. *Thou art my ſon*, exclaimed he; *thou haſt well diſcharged thy duty; thou haſt indeed ſhewn thyſelf worthy of the crown.* This young hero, known commonly by the appellation of *the Black Prince* from the color of his armour, became the model of knights, and the terror of France. Geoffry D'Harcourt had fought near him, unhappy in the very triumph which he ſeemed to gain over his country.

The king of England took every means to profit of the battle of Creſſy, preferring ſolid advantages to brilliant expeditions. He aimed to open to himſelf a paſſage in the kingdom. Guyenne was too diſtant. The death of D'Artevelle, whom the Flemings had aſſaſſinated, had loſt him a part of his credit in the Low Countries. All his views were fixed on Calais. He inveſted this important place, and reſolved to take it by famine. John de Vienne commanded there, a Burgundian knight, of approved fidelity and courage. The ſiege continued a year. Philip de Valois came to its aſſiſtance, without being able either to force

force the enemy to a battle, or to attack their inacceſſible intrenchments. Famine at length reduced the governor to the neceſſity of a ſurrender.

A. D. 1347. Edward takes the city.

Fame ſtill celebrates the heroic action of Euſtace de St. Pierre, and five other burgeſſes of Calais, who generouſly devoted themſelves for their brave fellow-citizens. Mr. Hume throws ſome doubts on this fact, related by Froiſſard, and omitted by the Engliſh hiſtorian Aveſbury. The recital of Froiſſard, a cotemporary author, bears notwithſtanding an appearance of truth, which renders it more than probable. All the inhabitants of Calais were obliged to abandon their hopes. Edward peopled the city with Engliſh. He ran the utmoſt hazard of loſing this valuable conqueſt almoſt as ſoon as it was gained. Though the two kings had concluded a truce, Geoffry de Charni, without conſulting Philip, corrupted the governor, a perfidious Italian [q], by promiſing him twenty thouſand crowns if he would deliver up the place. Edward, informed of this treachery, turned it

Edward ſaves Calais.

[q] Named Aimeri de Pavia.

againſt

againſt the French. On the appointed day, he entered the city, and, in concert with the governor, to whom he had promiſed his pardon, waited for the enemy; attacked them, ſuddenly, after they had paid the ſum agreed on, and killed or made priſoners the greateſt part of them. A valiant knight, named Ribaumont, had the glory of meaſuring his ſword with him, and of diſmounting him twice. Obliged at length to ſurrender himſelf to the king, he was conducted into England. Edward made him ſup, with the other knights, at his ſon's table, loaded him with praiſes, gave him an ornament of pearls which he uſually wore himſelf, ſaying to him at the ſame time, "*I know you are gay and amorous, that you love the company of ladies: tell them from whom you received this preſent; you are free; I acquit you of your ranſom, and you may leave us to-morrow.*" Theſe manners, the manners of chivalry, undoubtedly heightened the dignity of a conquering monarch.

Three heroines.

During the ſiege of Calais, the counteſs of Montfort, having taken the count of Blois priſoner, found in his

his counteſs an opponent as courageous as herſelf. The queen of England on her ſide marched in perſon againſt a great army of Scots, who ravaged the frontiers under the command of their king, David Bruce: the enemy were cut in pieces, and their king taken priſoner. If any thing, to borrow a ſentiment from Mr. Hume, can juſtify the extreme devotion of the warriors of that time to the fair ſex, it is the heroic actions of theſe extraordinary women. In a famous duel of thirty Breton knights againſt as many Engliſh, Beaumanoir cried out, before they engaged, "*It ſhall now be ſeen who amongſt us have the moſt beautiful miſtreſſes.*" Every noble action had ſome reference to the ladies; all was tinctured with this military gallantry. The order of the garter, inſtituted in this age, probably takes its origin from the love of Edward the third for the counteſs of Saliſbury. The garter of this lady having dropped one day when ſhe was dancing, the king took it up; and perceiving that thoſe about him ſuſpected ſome myſtery, he ſaid, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe:* which words were made the device

Order of the garter.

vice of the order. It was compoſed of only twenty-four perſons, beſides the ſovereign, and became one of the great objects of ambition amongſt the courtiers.

War with France.

The plague had ravaged all Europe, and deſtroyed about fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of London, when war, a ſcourge ſo much the more horrible as it is the work of man, renewed the misfortunes of France, and the bloody triumphs of her enemies. After the death of Philip of Valois, in 1350, John, his ſon and ſucceſſor, more imprudent and more unfortunate than his father, was expoſed to domeſtic diſturbances extremely favorable to the pretenſions of the Engliſh. Charles the bad, his relation and ſon-in-law, threw the kingdom into confuſion, by his ambitious enterprizes, and execrable acts of perfidy. He treated ſecretly with the king of England, ſeduced the dauphin, who ſoon repenting of his revolt, was at length arreſted at Roan,

A. D. 1355.

but without rendering his party leſs active or leſs dangerous. Edward ſeized with ardor this occaſion of renewing the war. He penetrated into France by Calais, and ſent the prince of Wales into Guyenne. The provinces

vinces were laid waſte, according to the barbarous cuſtom of ancient warriors. The Black Prince, with an army of twelve thouſand men, extended theſe ravages the following year even into Rheims. He was returning the ſame way, when king John, at the head of ſixty thouſand men, overtook him near Poitiers, and determined to attack him. The Engliſh prince ſaw no probability of eſcaping but by miracle. He offered to abandon his conqueſts, and to ſign a truce of ſeven years. The French inſiſted on his yielding himſelf priſoner. His reply was that of a hero, who feared leſs to die than to ſubmit to diſhonorable conditions. The whole night paſſed, amongſt the Engliſh, in preparations for the action. The prudence of the general compenſated for the ſmall number of his troops. Nothing was more eaſy than to reduce him by famine. But the natural impatience of the French, joined to a blind confidence, precipitated them into a danger which they did not deign to foreſee. The Engliſh archers, advantageouſly poſted, put the firſt line in diſorder. The prince of Wales threw himſelf on this line,

A. D. 1356. Battle of Poitiers.

line, and defeated it. The ſudden retreat of the dauphin (afterwards Charles the fifth) increaſed the confuſion and terror. King John ſaw himſelf ſoon ſurrounded by enemies, and, after a vigorous reſiſtance, his ſtrength exhauſted, covered with blood, he yielded himſelf to a French knight armed againſt his maſter, who had the advantage, if it was one, of making him priſoner.

King John priſoner to the Engliſh.

The conqueror of Creſſy ſurpaſſed himſelf in this memorable day as much by his dexterity and valor, as by an exertion of humanity almoſt unknown in thoſe ages of violence. He treated the king with a generoſity which greatly ſoftened the rigor of his captivity. The other priſoners found in the Engliſh knights the ſame nobleneſs of ſentiment. Such influence has the example of a prince over the hearts of his ſubjects. They concluded a truce of two years; and the king of France was conducted into England: Edward received him there as if they had never been enemies. At this time France, reduced to deſpair, ſeemed to ſtagger on the brink of ruin. Seditions, revolts, treaſons, murders,

murders, robberies of the moſt atrocious kind, rendered it a theatre of horrors. Paris eſpecially, tyrannized over by the furious Marcel [r], and expoſed to the attempts of the king of Navarre, was the centre of crimes, and of every ſpecies of calamity. The wiſdom of the dauphin, who governed the kingdon in quality of regent, inſenſibly remedied theſe evils; but the king, weary of his priſon, and humbled by misfortunes, had the weakneſs to conclude a treaty, which threatened the kingdom with inevitable ruin. He promiſed to reſtore all the provinces which Henry the ſecond had poſſeſſed in France. The dauphin and the ſtates parried the blow, by rejecting this ſhameful agreement. Edward flattered himſelf with the hope of ſuceeeding better by arms than by negotiations.

A new invaſion of France.

His paſt victories drawing a crowd of adventurers to his ſtandard, he paſſed the ſea with an army of near an hundred thouſand men. This torrent of enemies could not be ſtopped. The dauphin, Charles, too prudent

[r] Prevôt des marchands, or mayor of Paris.

to

to hazard a deciſive action, abandoned the country to them, after having provided for the ſecurity of the walled towns. They over-ran Champagne, without being able to make themſelves maſters of Rheims, where Edward was deſirous to be crowned. Burgundy and the Nivernois paid compoſitions to be exempted from pillage. La Brie and the Gatinois were cruelly ravaged. Paris was blocked up: the Engliſh offered the dauphin battle; and, not being able to draw him into the ſnare, threw themſelves on Maine, La Beauſſe, and the Chartrain. It was there that the duke of Lancaſter (the title of Duke began now to be known in England) repreſented to the king the inutility of theſe ruinous expeditions; how much the crown loſt by them, whilſt individuals enriched themſelves with the ſpoils; what danger there was of loſing in one day the fruits of ſo many years of war; and what advantage on the contrary he might draw from a ſolid peace, which, in the preſent circumſtances of affairs, would neceſſarily give him poſſeſſion of ſeveral provinces. This advice had perhaps more influence on Edward, than the

A. D. 1360.

the ſtorm to which the treaty of Bretigni is attributed; but it was not in that age impoſſible, that a natural phænomenon might intimidate the hearts even of princes. The conditions of peace were, that France ſhould pay, at different times, for the ranſom of king John, three millions of gold crowns, valued at one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling of our preſent money; that the king of England ſhould renounce his pretenſions on the crown, on Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, heretofore poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; that France ſhould cede to him, in exchange, Poitou, Xaintonge, Perigord, the Limouſin, Querci, Rovergue, the Angoumois, and ſome other territories; and that he ſhould enjoy theſe provinces in full ſovereignty, without any homage or dependance, &c. Forty hoſtages, amongſt whom were two ſons of France, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many of the principal nobility, were to be ſent into England as ſecurity for the performance of theſe articles. John willingly ratified the treaty, and was reſtored to his people. A religious obſerver of his word, he executed

Treaty of Bretigni.

executed the conditions with an inviolable fidelity. His council endeavored, but in vain, to diſſuade him from acting thus. "*If juſtice and good faith*, replied he, *were baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, they ought to be found in the hearts of princes.* This noble ſentiment, to which he had not however the addreſs to join policy, made him return to London, to *excuſe*, as he expreſſed it, his ſon the duke of Anjou, one of the hoſtages, who had made his eſcape. He died there ſome time after.

A. D. 1363.

Charles the fifth king of France.

Charles the fifth, his ſucceſſor, worthy of the ſurname of *wiſe*, without appearing at the head of armies like the other princes, did more by his prudence than could have been expected from the moſt heroic bravery. Du Gueſclin, the hero of the nation, ſubdued the king of Navarre, and was the inſtrument and the ſoul of every noble attempt. France was then ravaged by immenſe numbers of ferocious banditti, known under the name of *the companies*. The greater part were thoſe adventurers who had followed Edward, and who, being accuſtomed to pillage, perpetuated in the

the boſom of peace all the horrors of war. They reckoned amongſt them ſeveral Engliſh and Gaſcons of diſtinguiſhed birth. They had defeated the king's troops; a prince of the blood had been killed in an engagement with them; and this ſcourge employed all the policy of Charles, when he happily found an opportunity of diſlivering himſelf from it. Peter the cruel, king of Caſtile, given up to all the paſſions of a barbarous tyrant, filled up the meaſure of his crimes, by cauſing his wife [s], ſiſter to the queen of France, to be put to death by poiſon. Henry de Tranſtamare, brother to this monſter, took arms againſt him, and propoſed to Charles to enliſt *the companies* for an expedition into Caſtile. Nothing could be more advantageous to the kingdom. Du Gueſclin without difficulty engaged the banditti to march into Spain under his command. They paſſed by Avignon, where the pope kept his court, and drew from him two hundred thouſand livres, beſides the abſolution of their ſins, and ſoon

A. D. 1360. War of Caſtile.

[s] Blanche of Bourbon.

drove

drove the king of Caſtile, who had many enemies amongſt his ſubjects, out of the kingdom. The tyrant took refuge in Guyenne with the prince of Wales. Whether from generoſity, from policy, or from a wearineſs of inaction, the Engliſh prince, who had at firſt favored the deſigns of *the companies*, undertook to reſtore Peter the cruel, paſſed the Pyrenees with the famous Chandos, and defeated Henry De Tranſtamare, too eager to give battle contrary to the advice of Du Gueſclin. Peter betrayed his benefactor, when he had no longer occaſion for his aſſiſtance. The prince of Wales, not being able to obtain payment for his troops, ſeeing them periſh by ſickneſs, was obliged to return to Guyenne. The perfidious Caſtilian did not long enjoy his good fortune. Du Gueſclin took him priſoner; and his brother, Henry de Tranſtamare, killed him with his own hand.

The Black Prince reſtores Peter the cruel.

A. D. 1361. Revolt in Guyenne.

The expedition to Spain had involved the Black Prince, whoſe revenues were before exhauſted by a magnificence truly royal, in a load of debt. His preſſing occaſion for money obliged him to paſs the bounds of

of true policy. He totally alienated the French by impoſing a tax of a livre a hearth on the conquered provinces. The nobility of Guyenne not only refuſed to pay this extraordinary impoſt, but carried their complaints to the king of France, as lord paramount. The principal article of the treaty of Bretigni remained unexecuted, though John had preſſed the king of England to fulfil his engagements. The character of Edward the third gave ſome room to conjecture, that he reſerved a ſubterfuge in order to revive his pretenſions on ſome favorable occaſion. According to the Engliſh hiſtorians however, whoſe opinion has been followed by Rapin, nothing could juſtify a rupture [s].

[s] In the treaty of Brētigni it had been agreed, that the two kings ſhould make renunciations; Edward of his claim to the crown of France, and the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; John of the homage and fealty due for Guyenne, and the other provinces ceded to the Engliſh. But when that treaty was confirmed and renewed at Calais, it was found neceſſary, on account of ſome formalities peculiar to the feudal law, that the mutual renunciations ſhould for ſome time be deferred; and it was agreed, that the parties mean while ſhould make no uſe of their claims

The French aſſert the contrary, and relate ſeveral infractions of the treaty which authorized Charles the fifth to take arms. If there remains any doubt as to the motives of his conduct, there can be none of the juſtneſs of his views. The prudence of Edward was lulled aſleep in the boſom of proſperity; the prince of Wales languiſhed under a mortal diſeaſe; the provinces detached from the kingdom impatiently deſired to be reunited to it: in this advantageous conjuncture, policy gave weight to other reaſons. Charles, after having cauſed his rights to be examined, received the appeal of the Gaſcon nobility, and cited the prince of Wales before the court of peers. The Engliſh prince promiſed to appear ſoon at Paris, but at the

againſt each other. Though the failure in exchanging theſe renunciations had ſtill proceeded from France, Edward appears to have taken no umbrage at it; both becauſe this claim ſeemed to give him intire ſecurity, and becauſe ſome reaſonable apology had probably been made to him for each delay. It was, however, on this pretence, groſs and iniquitous as it was, that Charles reſolved to ground his claim of conſidering himſelf ſtill as ſuperior lord of theſe provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his ſubvaſſals. HUME.

head

head of ſixty thouſand men. This reply was a ſignal for war.

In a little time, the valor of the French, the zeal of the people, and the efforts of the nobles, produced an important revolution. The brave Chandos, conſtable of Guyenne, was killed in an engagement; the captal de Buch, his ſucceſſor, made priſoner; the conſtable Du Gueſclin made rapid conqueſts. Edward ſent ſeveral armies to re-eſtabliſh his affairs, but in vain. His repeated efforts failed of ſucceſs. The Engliſh traverſed France twice from Calais to Guyenne, without reaping the leaſt advantage. Of ſo many provinces, of ſo many important places, ſcarce any thing remained to them except Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais, when Edward was conſtrained to conclude a truce, not being in a ſituation to continue hoſtilities. He had occaſion, in order to reign in France, for the affections of the French. And how could he have expected to obtain their affections by uſurping the rights of the blood royal, and ravaging the kingdom which he pretended a right to poſſeſs? An inſolent miſtreſs, by whom

The Engliſh driven from France.

A. D. 1373.

he was governed the laſt years of his life, made him loſe his authority over the Engliſh themſelves. His glory appeared buried in pleaſures. He had the misfortune to loſe the prince of Wales, that virtuous hero, who was admired and praiſed even by his enemies. He died himſelf the following year, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and fifty-firſt of his reign, leaving three ſons, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Gloſter. Richard, ſon to the prince of Wales, had been before acknowledged his ſucceſſor [*t*].

A. D. 1377. Death of Edward the third.

The infinite evils cauſed by Edward's ambition, the rivers of blood which he made run, as well in France as in Scotland, the little advantage which accrued to England from theſe enterprizes, obſcure in the eyes of hu-

[*t*] The ſecond ſon of king Edward was Lionel duke of Clarence, who was firſt married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the earl of Ulſter, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. King Edward had alſo four daughters; Iſabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, who eſpouſed, in the order of their names, Engelcan de Coucy, earl of Bedford; Alphonſo, king of Caſtile; John de Montfort, duke of Britany; and John Haſtings, earl of Pembroke. HUME.

manity

manity the glory of this great prince, whoſe prudence, generoſity, extraordinary genius, greatneſs of ſoul, and affability of manners, were calculated to promote the happineſs of human kind. Twenty confirmations of the great charter, which he granted in parliament, are quoted as a ſtriking proof of his regard to the liberty of his people. It is rather, as Mr. Hume obſerves, a proof of the frequent infractions of the great charter, which excited the complaints of parliament.

This council of the nation, always conſulted by the king, acquired now a conſiderable authority; and the commons were no longer regarded with the ſame indifference, not to ſay contempt, as before. In the laſt years of Edward, his miniſters were accuſed in parliament, and his miſtreſs obliged, by parliamentary remonſtrances, to quit the court. Yet nothing was more uſual in this reign than acts of abſolute authority [*u*]. The commons

[*u*] The following example deſerves to be cited: Edward, in order to build the magnificent caſtle of Windſor, obliged the inhabitants of the provinces to tax themſelves, and ſend him maſons, carpenters, &c.

always complained; which proves, that if the conſtitution was not ſolidly eſtabliſhed, as at preſent, the principles of it were already known. This clauſe is remarkable in a ſtatute of Edward: *That no perſon, of whatever ſtate or condition, ſhall be deprived of his goods, arreſted, impriſoned, diſinherited, or put to death, without being judicially heard.* The crime of high treaſon was limited to three principal caſes; to conſpiring the death of the king, making war on him, or being allied with his enemies. The uſe of the French language in public deeds was aboliſhed. But it required time to bring the Engliſh into faſhion. If an invincible antipathy had not divided the two nations, this change could not perhaps have taken place. Edward having ſuppreſſed the tribute which had been paid to the pope, Innocent the ſixth, in 1367, threatened to cite him to the pontifical court. The affair was debated in parliament, where it was declared that king John had no power, without the conſent of the nation, to ſubmit himſelf to a foreign juriſdiction, and that this pretenſion ſhould

High treaſon.

Engliſh language.

The power of the pope leſſened.

ſhould be firmly and conſtantly oppoſed. Appeals to the pope were forbid, and the right of patrons confirmed, by the ſtatute of *Proviſors*. The laity exclaimed loudly againſt the ſervitude to which they pretended the popes had reduced the kingdom; they aſſerted in very high terms, that it was the ſource of all the national evils; that famine and peſtilence had been leſs deſtructive; and that the taxes levied by the apoſtolic chamber amounted to five times as much as thoſe paid to the king, &c. Theſe complaints, though without doubt exaggerated, neceſſarily ſuppoſe great abuſes. Great abuſes in religious affairs, though foreign to religion itſelf, never fail ſooner or later to excite a ſpirit of ſchiſm and revolt. Wickliff in effect began now to dogmatize in the church. We ſhall ſpeak of his hereſy under the following reign [*w*].

[*w*] It is neceſſary here to remind the reader, that though the author is a man of candor and moderation, he is a member of the church of Rome.

## RICHARD the Second.

A. D. 1377. THE ſon of the famous prince of Wales inherited the rights of his father to the crown, as well as the tenderneſs and veneration with which the nation had always regarded this heroic prince. The dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Gloſter, made no oppoſition to the ſucceſſion of their nephew. They were of characters too different to unite againſt him; the firſt neither enterprizing nor popular; the ſecond weak, mild, and of a very limited capacity; the third poſſeſſed of talents to ſeduce the people, and overturn the ſtate, but at this time reſtrained by the power of his two elder brothers. This beginning of the minority was tranquill. The parliament eſtabliſhed a council of regency; the commons, by their petitions, had great influence on the ſyſtem of government; but the authority of the king's uncles was the principal ſpring of all affairs. Lancaſter eſpecially, who had governed all during the laſt years of Edward, was regent in effect, though without the title.

Uncles of the minor king.

In

War with France.

In the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, it was impoſſible to avoid a war. Robert Stuart, nephew of David Bruce, and his ſucceſſor on the throne of Scotland, had entered into a cloſe alliance with France againſt the Engliſh, their common enemy. Cherbourg, ceded to England by the perfidious king of Navarre, and Breſt, by the duke of Britany, whilſt ſhe poſſeſſed Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais, facilitated extremely her invaſion of France. Charles the fifth died too ſoon for his people, and left a minor ſon, the unfortunate Charles the ſixth, under whom all the miſeries of the nation were to be renewed. The enterprizes of Calverley governor of Calais, of the dukes of Lancaſter and Gloſter, who ſucceſſively attacked France, produced however no memorable effect.

A. D. 1381. Revolt occaſioned by new taxes.

An extraordinary tax, impoſed on every perſon above the age of fifteen, excited terrible commotions, of which England had yet ſeen no example. A furious preacher ſtirred up the country people by maxims of equality and liberty, the moſt proper of all topicks to fire the populace. The inhuma-

nity of the collectors made a ſtill more lively impreſſion. One of them, by his brutal inſolence, irritated to ſuch a degree a blackſmith in the county of Eſſex, that he daſhed out his brains with a blow of his hammer. All the neighbourhood ran to arms. The fire of ſedition ſpread itſelf in an inſtant. The rebels, to the number of one hundred thouſand, aſſembled under chiefs who were of the dregs of the people, and, full of the chimerical idea of reducing every citizen to the ſame level, threw themſelves on London, committed there the moſt horrible exceſſes, burnt the palace of Lancaſter, maſſacred the primate, the chancellor, and a number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the kingdom. The young king, who had taken refuge in the Tower, had the courage to come out, and enter into a conference with the mutineers. Their inſolence raiſed the indignation of the mayor of London to ſuch a degree as carried him to forget all danger. Tranſported with fury, with one ſtroke of his ſword he laid their leader dead at his feet. They were going to cut in pieces the king, and all thoſe who attended him, when Richard,

Courage of Richard the ſecond.

Richard, with an air at once gracious and intrepid, advanced towards them, and addreſſed them in the following terms: '*What means this tumult, my dear people? Are you angry on account of the death of your chief? I am your king. I will conduct you. Follow me.*' They followed him out of the city, without replying. The celebrated general Sir Robert Knolles came up ſoon after with a body of troops. The nobles came from all parts to the aſſiſtance of their prince. The king found himſelf ſoon at the head of forty thouſand men, and in a ſtate to put an end to the ſedition. The charters of enfranchiſement and amneſty, which the rebels had extorted, were revoked; and the moſt culpable ſeverely puniſhed. Thus was a faction deſtroyed, which threatened the ruin of the government, but which, not being ſupported by any conſiderable head, neceſſarily ſunk under the royal power. In France a revolt of the peaſants ſimilar to this, known under the name of *Jacquerie*, has been ſeen to produce the ſame diſorders, and end in the ſame manner. Such is the ferocity of the people, when their ſenſe of op-

preſſion makes them forget every other ſentiment.

Bad conduct of the king.

This ſpirited action of Richard made his ſubjects expect every thing from a king of fifteen years old, whoſe preſence of mind and firmneſs of ſoul ſeemed ſo ſuperior to his years. But the prodigies of youth are ſometimes deceitful. The whole conduct of Richard contradicted theſe firſt preſages; and he ſoon ſhewed himſelf a weak prince, without judgement, whoſe very good qualities degenerated into defects. The Scots ravaged the frontiers of the kingdom; he entered their country, reduced ſeveral towns and villages to aſhes, even to Edinburgh, and haſtened back to taſte repoſe before he had done any thing ſolid. France menaced England with an invaſion. The duke of Lancaſter was in Spain, endeavouring to ſupport his vain pretenſions to the kingdom of Caſtile. In this ſtormy ſituation, the paſſion of the king for his favorites became a fatal ſource of diſcord and rebellion.

A. D. 1386. Revolt of the nobles.

Weary of the yoke impoſed on him by his uncles, he gave himſelf up to the earl of Oxford, Robert de Vere, a young

a young nobleman of an agreable figure, libertine, and more adapted to corrupt the prince than to govern the kingdom. He carried this tenderneſs to ſuch a length as to create him duke of Ireland, and to give him for life the ſovereignty of that iſland. All authority ſoon centered in him. Maſter of the king and the ſtate, he was from that time a zealous enemy to the princes of the blood royal, and the principal lords. A formidable league was ſet on foot againſt the new government. Gloſter induced the houſe of commons to accuſe the earl of Suffolk, chancellor, who had been advanced by his merit in the late reign. The accuſation turned on articles equally frivolous and ill ſupported. They notwithſtanding condemned this miniſter, and took from him his employment. This firſt ſtep led to the laſt exceſſes. They deprived the monarch of all his authority; entruſted the exerciſe of it to commiſſioners appointed for a year, but determined to maintain themſelves in it for ever; forced him to ſign this commiſſion, and to ſwear never to diſſolve it. Richard proteſted againſt this violence, and aſ-

ſembled

ſembled ſome of the moſt eminent lawyers, who declared it an attack on the king's authority and the royal prerogative. Gloſter and his partizans appeared immediately in arms, accuſing the miniſters and counſellors of the monarch: the duke of Ireland took flight; the others were condemned and executed in contempt of the laws. Force did all in thoſe unhappy times, when the paſſions of the great ſeemed to annihilate every idea of juſtice. Order at length ſeemed ſpontaneouſly to eſtabliſh itſelf; either becauſe the factious ceaſed to act in concert, or becauſe the kingdom ſaw their attempts with indignation. The king, then two and twenty years old, declared, that, being out of the age of minority, he would take the reins of government into his own hands. He made a total change in the great offices of the crown. His uncles ſeemed diſpoſed to confine themſelves within the limits of their duty. A general amneſty, and the remiſſion of a ſubſidy which had been granted, acquired him the love of the people, who paſs eaſily from one extreme to another. The king-

A. D. 1389. The king reſumes his authority.

dom enjoyed ſome years of tranquillity. A truce of twenty-five years concluded with France was followed by the reſtitution of Breſt and Cherbourg. Richard, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the party of his uncles, eſpouſed in ſecond marriage the daughter of Charles the ſixth, then only ſeven years of age.

A. D. 1397. Cabals of the duke of Gloſter.

This alliance was ſo much the more diſpleaſing to the Engliſh, ever implacable enemies to their neighbours, as the conduct of Richard inſpired only contempt for his perſon. Given up to pleaſures, without the leaſt application to buſineſs; governed by favorites, on whom he laviſhed the revenues of the ſtate and the money of the people; debaſing himſelf by a mean familiarity, as dangerous as affability is uſeful, he appeared a phantom of a king, incapable to ſuſtain the honor of the crown. The duke of Gloſter, whoſe turbulent and ambitious genius never ſlept, ſeized this opportunity to renew his intrigues. By affecting to fly the court, he rendered himſelf popular. His invectives againſt the government, his declamations againſt the truce and the king's

king's marriage, his addreſs in irritating the national hatred againſt the French, and the deſire of again ravaging France, made deep impreſſions on minds too much diſpoſed to rebellion. He would certainly have dethroned his nephew, if this prince had not prevented the blow. Gloſter was ſuddenly arreſted and tranſported to Calais. The parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, authorized by their ſanction the vengeance of the court. They declared void the amneſty which Richard had voluntarily confirmed. They impeached and condemned the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and ſeveral other lords; the greater part for paſt revolts for which they had before received their pardon. They were preparing to proſecute Gloſter when they heard the news of his death. It was attributed to an apoplexy; but the greater part ſuſpected an aſſaſſination, of which they ſome time after diſcovered the reality. After ſo many illegal condemnations, the parliament annulled the ſentence paſſed againſt the Spencers in the reign of Edward the ſecond. Nothing is more common

Illegal violences.

mon in the Engliſh hiſtory than theſe rapid changes, which alter the face of affairs at the will of the governing party.

Scarce was that of Gloſter ſubdued, when another roſe up, of which Richard became the victim. The great were ſo little delicate on the principles of honor, that Henry duke of Hereford (heretofore earl of Derby), ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, did not bluſh to accuſe the duke of Norfolk of having in confidence held converſations with him injurious to the monarch. Norfolk gave him the lie, and challenged him. This challenge, then authorized by the laws, having been accepted, they agreed on a time and place. Richard, with all the nobility, were to be witneſſes of the combat. The two champions were on the point of engaging, when, to ſpare the effuſion of ſuch illuſtrious blood, the king exiled both; granting to Hereford, even by letters patent, the right, if he ſucceeded to any inheritance, of entering into immediate poſſeſſion, and deferring his homage till his return. The duke of Lancaſter died ſoon after; his ſon deſired to

A. D. 1398.

Henry duke of Lancaſter.

to enjoy his rights, and pleaded his letters patent: but Richard had the injuſtice to oppoſe theſe rights, to revoke his conceſſion, and to ſeize the inheritance. This violence was held in the greater abhorrence, becauſe the new duke of Lancaſter was the idol of the people. His high reputation both for valor and piety cauſed him to be regarded as the only prince worthy of the public confidence and eſteem. The people complained, they murmured. At that critical time, the king, forgetting the late ſtorms, and foreſeeing no danger, paſſed into Ireland to chaſtiſe the rebels. Lancaſter haſtened to return into the kingdom, without any other deſign, he aſſerted, than that of recovering the ſucceſſion of his father. In a few days he was at the head of an army. The duke of York, then regent, either from inclination or weakneſs, joined him. This intelligence threw Richard into the utmoſt conſternation. He returned, was abandoned by his ſoldiers, betrayed, and arreſted by a perſon ſent by Lancaſter; conducted to London, and proſecuted in parliament. Without waiting to diſcuſs the chief

A. D. 1399. Richard the ſecond depoſed.

points

points of accuſation, moſt of which were attended with great difficulties, and turned principally on the arbitrary acts of which the late reign had furniſhed more examples than this, theſe barons, guilty themſelves of ſo many acts of violence in contradiction to the laws, unanimouſly agreed, in concert with the commons, to depoſe him. The biſhop of Carliſle, oppoſing ſingly ſo enormous an attempt, was committed to priſon by Lancaſter. This prince declared, *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt,* that the vacant throne belonged to him by right of birth, as a deſcendant of Henry the third, and by *the right which he had received from God, with the aſſiſtance of his relations and friends, to recover the kingdom, which was on the point of being ruined by the bad adminiſtration of government.* Theſe intricate expreſſions were uſed to palliate the injuſtice of his uſurpation. The duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward the third, had left a grandſon, born of his daughter and the earl of Mortimer, whoſe rights to the crown were evidently prior to thoſe of Lancaſter. He therefore went back to Henry the third,

Pretenſions of Lancaſter.

third, to avail himſelf of an abſurd popular tradition, which ſuppoſed that Edmund duke of Lancaſter, ſon to that king, was elder brother to Edward the firſt, and that they had given his younger brother the preference, becauſe of ſome remarkable deformities in the perſon of Edmund. However unreaſonable was this pretext, as well as the reſt of his ambiguous declarations, the parliament did not heſitate to place him on the throne. The unhappy Richard periſhed ſoon after by a violent death; a victim, like Edward the ſecond, to the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the great, and the ſeditious reſtleſſneſs of the people.

Public diſorders.

We ſhall be leſs aſtoniſhed at theſe ſcenes, not leſs atrocious than frequent, if we reflect on the diſorders which then reigned in the place of law. Nothing was ſeen through the kingdom but violence and robbery: and the nobles were the principal offenders. Calverley and Knolles, two illuſtrious generals, had been leaders of thoſe banditti of whom France had long experienced the fury. All England was divided into an infinity of ſmall bodies, armed to deſtroy each other.

The

The weak, having occaſion for protection, united under the command of the powerful, and became the inſtruments of their crimes. The feudal government was almoſt intirely diſſolved, by the unavoidable revolutions in the property of eſtates; but the great were not the leſs dangerous; and theſe aſſociations, or private leagues, procured them as many ſoldiers as if they had ſtill had numerous vaſſals ready to follow their ſtandards. The arbitrary power which they exerciſed could not, as Mr. Hume remarks, be counter-balanced, except by the arbitrary power which was ſtill in the hands of the monarch; without which the ſtate muſt neceſſarily have fallen into anarchy.

Wickliff; the Lollards.

In the midſt of theſe inteſtine convulſions, whilſt the people, equally ſtupid and furious, were in ſome ſort ignorant of the uſe of reaſon, John Wickliff, a doctor of Oxford, an auſtere enthuſiaſt, as moſt innovators are, ventured to ſpread a fatal doctrine, from which ſprang all the hereſies of the ſixteenth age [x]. He rejected

[x] The averſion entertained againſt the eſtabliſhed church ſoon found principles and

the real preſence, confeſſion, the pope's ſupremacy, monaſtic vows, the great number of religious ceremonies: he maintained, that the ſcripture was the only rule of faith; that the church ought to be reformed by the ſtate, and not to poſſeſs temporal goods; that

tenets and reaſonings, by which it could juſtify and ſupport itſelf. John Wickliff, a ſecular prieſt, educated at Oxford, began, in the latter end of Edward the third, to ſpread the doctrines of reformation, by his diſcourſes, ſermons, and writings; and he made many diſciples among men of all ranks and ſtations. He ſeems to have been a man of parts and learning; and has the honor of being the firſt perſon in Europe, who publicly called in queſtion thoſe doctrines which had univerſally paſſed for certain and undiſputed during ſo many ages. Wickliff himſelf, as well as his diſciples, who received the name of Wickliffites or Lollards, was diſtinguiſhed by a remarkable auſterity of life and manners; a circumſtance common to almoſt all thoſe who dogmatize in any new way, both becauſe men who draw to themſelves the attention of the public, and expoſe themſelves to the odium of great multitudes, are obliged to be very guarded in their conduct, and becauſe few who have a ſtrong propenſity to pleaſure or buſineſs will enter upon ſo difficult and laborious an undertaking. The doctrines of Wickliff, being derived from his ſearch into the ſcriptures and into eccleſiaſtical antiquity, were nearly the ſame with thoſe propagated by the reformers in the ſixteenth century. HUME.

no

no impoſt ought to be raiſed on the people, till the eccleſiaſtical eſtates had all been expended for the occaſions of the kingdom, &c. It plainly appears, that the abuſes introduced into the church, as well as the temerity of human underſtanding, had given birth to theſe opinions. They contributed to the revolt of the peaſants; for it is eaſy to fire the populace by an enthuſiaſm by which it is flattered. The protection of the duke of Lancaſter placed Wickliff in ſafety from the attacks of the clergy. His partizans, called Lollards, became very numerous; but, as the principal of them, following the example of their chief, ſoftened or retracted thoſe particulars which were moſt oppoſite to the doctrines of the church, theſe novelties produced no revolution. The reſpect for the holy ſee, however, declined every day. The ſcandal cauſed by the great ſchiſm was but too capable of fomenting diſcord. Since 1380, two popes diſputed the tiara with a degree of fury beyond all example. The Chriſtian world, divided into two parties, followed in this diſpute,

Great ſchiſm.

pute, in which religion only was concerned, the torrent of prejudice or intereſt. Clement the fifth, who reſided at Avignon, was acknowledged by the French and their allies; Urban the ſixth by England, the profeſſed enemy of France. Each party treated the other as infidels and ſchiſmatics. Urban publiſhed a cruſade againſt his rival; the biſhop of Norwich, at the head of the cruſaders, carried the war into Flanders, though Urban was there acknowledged (1382); and returned with loſs, without having attacked France, againſt which the cruſade was deſtined. During the forty years which this ſchiſm laſted, religion ſerved as a pretext to the moſt unwarrantable exceſſes.

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## HENRY the Fourth.

A. D. 1399. HENRY of Lancaſter had courage, dexterity, and prudence; but his uſurpation was too viſible, and the rights of Edmund Mortimer earl of March too clear and evident, not to render the beginnings of this reign ſtormy

ſtormy and turbulent. It commenced by a conſpiracy of the peers, which ended in illegal executions, according to the cuſtom of thoſe ages, in which violence ſilenced the voice of the laws. The earl of Rutland, one of the rebels, ſon to the duke of York, diſhonored his birth by preſenting to the king the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, and one of the chiefs of the conſpiracy. Rutland had before been inſtrumental in the death of his uncle the duke of Gloſter, had betrayed Richard, and Henry himſelf. The blackeſt perfidies are without difficulty executed by thoſe whoſe principles are intirely of the ſelfiſh kind. To ſecure himſelf on the throne, the new king ſacrificed the Lollards to the hatred of the clergy. The parliament, entering into theſe views, ordained that relapſed or obſtinate heretics ſhould be delivered to the ſecular arm, and at length condemned to the flames. This is the firſt example of thoſe penal laws which have ſince been ſo cruelly abuſed. Henry the fourth was, however, ſuſpected of having, like the old duke of Lancaſter his father, an inclination

Conſpiracy.

Heretics condemned to the flames.

to the new opinions. But policy often makes us act contrary to our faith.

Revolts.

Glendour, a deſcendant of the ancient princes of Wales, took advantage of the confuſions into which the kingdom was thrown, to make excurſions into it. The earl of March fell into his hands, and the king ſuffered him to remain in captivity; without allowing the Piercies, his relations, to treat with Glendour for his ranſom. He owed his crown to this powerful family. The earl of Northumberland, chief of the houſe of Piercy, revolted, and joined the Scots. Falling ſick, he put his ſon at the head of his army. They publiſhed a manifeſto againſt Henry; reproached him with the murder of Richard, his uſurpation of the crown, the impriſonment of the lawful heir, and all which could render him odious. The battle of Shrewſbury, one of the moſt furious which the civil wars produced, decided the quarrel in favor of the royaliſts. The younger Piercy was killed; Northumberland ſubmitted. A new rebellion, which broke out two years after, was quelled with leſs difficulty.

A. D. 1403. Battle of Shrewſbury.

ficulty. The archbiſhop of York, one of the leaders, was condemned to death. This is the firſt example of a biſhop executed judicially. The king ſucceeded in curbing the ſeditious. He kept the court of Scotland in awe, by retaining the young prince James, heir to Robert the third, who had fallen into his hands. He fomented the quarrel between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whoſe mutual hatred tore France in pieces. He meditated ſtill greater deſigns againſt this kingdom. The ſhortneſs of his reign ſuſpended their execution.

The commons acquire power.

We ſhall ſuppreſs the minute details of theſe different affairs, becauſe they afford nothing intereſting. What regards the parliament, ſo eſſential a part of the conſtitution, ought not however to be omitted. The commons already acted a part ſufficiently important to engage the court to make it an object of policy to influence the elections. They had complained of this in the late reign; they complained ſtill more under Henry the fourth. The king, notwithſtanding, obliged a long time to court popularity, ſuffered the lower houſe to aſſume more

authority than it had ever before poſſeſſed. The commons at one time demanded the diſmiſſion of ſome of his houſhold ſervants, and even of his confeſſor, which was granted; at another they named treaſurers to watch over the expending of the ſubſidies granted, and to render them an account; they propoſed rules for adminiſtration, and inſiſted that all the members of the council ſhould ſwear to obſerve them. They took another ſtep ſtill more daring, by demanding that the revenues of the church ſhould be applied to the neceſſities of the ſtate. The clergy, according to the calculation made by the commons, poſſeſſed in landed eſtates a third of the kingdom, and drew from them four hundred and twenty-four thouſand marks a year: this petition was the work of the Lollards. Henry, who now began to reign more deſpotically, returned a haughty reply, and cauſed one of the Lollards to be burned, to ſhew them his ſentiments more clearly.

Revenues of the clergy.

A violent diſtemper conducted him to the tomb after a reign of twelve years. Henry's crimes were in a great meaſure cauſed by Richard's injuſtice.

A. D. 1413. Death of Henry the fourth.

The

The latter would never have uſurped the throne, if the former had not deprived him of his inheritance.

But an injury received will not juſtify the commiſſion of a crime; and even the prudence with which Henry maintained his power, will never efface the guilt of his uſurpation. He left four ſons [y], of whom the eldeſt ſucceeded him.

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## HENRY the Fifth.

IF we were to judge of men by the indiſcretions of their youth, Henry the fifth ought to have been a monſter when on the throne. The diſtruſtful jealouſy of his father having excluded him from buſineſs and the command of armies, he plunged with eagerneſs into all the exceſſes of debauchery, without bluſhing even for the moſt ſhameful behaviour. This licentiouſ- A. D. 1413. The king changes his conduct.

[y] Henry the fifth, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloſter; he alſo left two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark.

neſs was leſs cauſed by depravity of heart, than by a fiery and active turn of mind, which, not being directed to uſeful objects, delivered itſelf to the impetuoſity of the paſſions. Through all his follies, attentive obſervers had perceived the dormant ſeeds of a moſt worthy character. Having inſulted a judge in defence of one of his debauched companions, and this magiſtrate having ordered him to be committed to priſon, he had ſubmitted modeſtly to the puniſhment, had acknowledged his fault, and repaired it: an aſtoniſhing ſubmiſſion in a diſſolute and impetuous prince, the heir to a powerful kingdom. Scarce was he his own maſter, when his vices were changed into the contrary virtues. He exhorted his friends to imitate his example; and forbad them to appear at court, if they did not firſt reform the errors of their conduct. The judge, of whom we have ſpoke, who apprehended being diſgraced, received every mark of favor and eſteem. The earl of March, treated with diſtinction and favor, almoſt forgot the rights of his birth: the Piercies recovered their eſtates and their dignities: the nation

conceived

conceived the juſteſt and moſt pleaſing hopes.

The ſect of the Lollards, or Wickliffites, made however an alarming progreſs; and though the name of hereſy intimidated the minds of many, yet the pretence of reforming thoſe abuſes which had crept into the church, and of enriching the ſtate with its ſpoils, relaxed the bonds of public order. Lord Cobham, diſtinguiſhed by his ſervices and his military talents, was at the head of a party held in abhorrence by the clergy, which became the cauſe of great anxiety to the crown. Henry the fifth was deſirous to ſupport the hierarchy and the eſtabliſhed faith, without employing violence, which he thought as little conformable to the ſpirit, as to the intereſt, of true religion. But, after many fruitleſs attempts to ſoften the inflexibility of Cobham, he permitted the primate to commence a proſecution againſt him. He was condemned, and delivered over to the ſecular arm. Having eſcaped from the Tower, he aſſembled his partizans, revolted againſt the king, failed in his enterprize, fled, and was taken and hanged

Cobham head of the Lollards.

A. D. 1414.

ſome years after. This revolt brought the new ſect into diſeſteem. The parliament increaſed the ſeverity of the penal laws; and, notwithſtanding that circumſtance, preſſed the king to ſeize the eccleſiaſtical revenues to the uſe of the crown; ſo ſtrong an impreſſion had the ſyſtem of the Lollards made even on thoſe who deteſted their hereſy. The clergy ceded ſeveral benefices to the king: and the primate, in order to direct his attention to another object, had the dexterity to excite him to take arms againſt France.

All that unhappy kingdom was in flames. The frenzy of Charles the ſixth left a free career to the rage of contending parties. The duke of Orleans, brother to the king, and the duke of Burgundy his couſin-german, after violent quarrels, ſwore a perfect reconciliation at the foot of the altar. But the former was, by the order of the latter, ſoon after aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris: and the offender had the preſumption to juſtify himſelf publickly on the execrable principles of tyrannicide [z]. It was not long

[z] The parliament of Paris itſelf, the tribunal of juſtice, heard the harangues of the before

before they experienced the fatal effects of this doctrine. Two factions, furiouſly enraged againſt each other, filled the kingdom, and above all the capital, with ſcenes of murder. The Burgundians and Armagnacs (it was by theſe names the factions were diſtinguiſhed) ſacrificed the ſtate and their fellow-citizens to their ſanguinary animoſity; and the French ſeemed themſelves to incite the enemies of France to attempt its conqueſt. Henry took advantage of this favorable conjuncture. His father, when dying, had adviſed him to exerciſe the turbulent and unquiet ſpirit of the nation in foreign wars, which would hinder it from diſturbing the interior peace of the kingdom. This advice, and that of the primate, determined him to take a very extraordinary ſtep. He ſent to demand in marriage the daughter of Charles the ſixth, with the reſtitution, in full ſovereignty, of all

A. D. 1415. Henry propoſes to attack France.

duke's advocate in defence of aſſaſſination, which he denominated Tyrannicide; and that aſſembly, partly influenced by faction, partly overawed by power, pronounced no ſentence of condemnation againſt this deteſtable doctrine. HUME.

the provinces taken from England by Philip Auguſtus. The court of France, reduced to extreme weakneſs, offered him the ſovereignty of Guyenne, Perigord, Xaintonge, &c. Henry rejected this offer, and reſolved to attempt a conqueſt, from which the experience of his predeceſſors ought to have deterred him. Whilſt he was preparing for this expedition, the earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon to the late duke of York, entered into a conſpiracy to place the earl of March on the throne. He was diſcovered, condemned to death, and executed, as well as ſome other lords [*a*], without being heard, and on the evidence of one witneſs only. The earl of March was accuſed of having been privy to the conſpiracy. The king pardoned him; and, free from all anxiety, haſtened to execute his great, but unjuſt, enterprize.

A conſpiracy.

He landed in Normandy, near Harfleur, at the head of ſix thouſand men at arms, of whom his cavalry was compoſed, and twenty-four thouſand

Battle of Agincourt.

[*a*] The other perſons executed, were the Lord Scrope of Maſham and Sir Thomas Grey.

foot,

foot, chiefly archers. He beſieged this place; and took it by aſſault, after having loſt a conſiderable part of his army. Fatigue and ſickneſs had reduced the Engliſh to a very ſmall number. Henry found himſelf, like Edward the third, ſhut up in an enemy's country, without the leaſt probable means of eſcaping. He diſcovered a ford near St. Quintin, paſſed the Somme, and marched towards Calais, followed by the French army, which was four times more numerous than his own. Having no reſource but in good conduct, courage, and deſpair, he choſe an advantageous ground, flanked by two woods, in the plains of Agincourt. The conſtable D'Albret was certain of conqueſt by avoiding a battle, or waiting till the enemy, who were in want of every thing, ſhould abandon their poſt. The temerity and imprudence of the French, renewed the diſaſters of Creſſy and Poictiers. They engaged in this confined ground, rendered ſlippery by the rains, where they could not fight in good order. The Engliſh archers, intrenched behind paliſades, poured on them a ſhower of arrows, broke

their ranks, fell on them with their battle-axes, and cut them in pieces. All became then only confuſion and ſlaughter. The conſtable, ſeveral princes of the blood, more than nine thouſand knights or gentlemen, remained dead on the field of battle; the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were made priſoners, with the counts D'Eu, Vendome, Richemont, and the mareſchal de Boucicaut. On the ſide of the Engliſh, they numbered only forty men killed, amongſt whom was the duke of York. If Henry had taken advantage of his victory and the general conſternation, it ſeems impoſſible any thing could have reſiſted him. But the princes of thoſe times, unprovided with money, proviſions, and every neceſſary reſource, were unable to prolong their wars. He parted ſoon after from Calais, and concluded a truce with France.

France filled with factions.

The rage of the factions roſe higher than ever. The duke of Burgundy redoubled his efforts to become maſter of the kingdom. Iſabella of Bavaria, wife to the unfortunate Charles the ſixth, a woman capable of committing the moſt atrocious crimes, having

having been confined at Tours, entered into the ſtricteſt union with the duke, whom ſhe hated, againſt the dauphin, who had attached himſelf to the Armagnac party. The duke of Burgundy took arms, ſeized on ſeveral towns, delivered the queen, and got poſſeſſion of the perſon of the king. Paris was ſtill drenched in blood. There only wanted the Engliſh, to fill up the meaſure of the public calamities. Henry did not delay a moment to enter the kingdom. Providence, according to him, declared in his favor, and plainly deſtined him to the crown: an abſurd as well as daring pretext, with which the greateſt villains may cover their injuſtice. Falaiſe, Cherbourg, Evreux, Caën, were already in the hands of the Engliſh. Roüen was beſieged. Queen Iſabella, and the duke of Burgundy, negotiated with Henry. A ſudden reconciliation of the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy weakened his hopes. But theſe two princes having agreed on an interview on the bridge of Montereau, the duke was there aſſaſſinated by ſome lords in the dauphin's train; who ſeized that opportunity to revenge the

A. D. 1417.

Aſſaſſination of the duke of Burgundy.

the death of the duke of Orleans. This new crime revived the memory of all the paſt. They imputed it to the young heir of the crown, becauſe it had been committed in his preſence, and by his friends. The new duke of Burgundy, Philip the good, conſpired with the queen the ruin of the ſtate. Every ſentiment of honor, of patriotiſm, and even of perſonal intereſt, gave way to the rage of vengeance. Henry the fifth had taken Rouën after a long ſiege; he was maſter of Pontoiſe and Giſors; he was at the gates of Paris. In theſe circumſtances, which ought to have enflamed the zeal of the French, they abandoned to him the kingdom. He rendered himſelf at Troyes to conclude that famous treaty, by which a weak king, a furious queen, and a prince of the blood armed againſt his country, acknowledged him heir to the crown of France, yielding up to him all the authority, with the title of regent, during the life of Charles the ſixth; and engaging to purſue the *perſon calling himſelf the dauphin* as a public enemy. This infamous treaty, which overturned the very foundations of the

A. D. 1420. Treaty of Troyes.

monarchy, which gave to a ſtranger, in contempt of all the French princes, a power to which he could not pretend any title, was followed by his marriage with Catherine of France, daughter to the king. The ſtates general, the remains of the diſperſed parliament, ſwore obedience to Henry. He reigned in Paris, whilſt the dauphin, declared guilty of the aſſaſſination of the duke of Burgundy, and of leſe majeſty, aſſembled under his ſtandard a ſmall number of faithful Frenchmen.

Henry paſſed over into England, to procure ſubſidies. He received from his parliament only a very moderate ſupply, notwithſtanding the joy cauſed by his triumphs. Men of ſenſe ſaw clearly, that, if their king poſſeſſed France, England would ſooner or later become a province, and that the intereſt of the monarch was not that of the nation. During his abſence, the dauphin, ſeconded by a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, defeated, at Baugé in Anjou, the duke of Clarence, brother to the king.

This

This prince was killed in the action, and Buchan honored with the title of conſtable. Henry led thither an army capable of repairing this loſs. He raiſed the ſiege of Chartres, and ſeized on Dreux and Meaux; the dauphin, driven beyond the Loire, kept on the defenſive; a ſon born to the king of England ſeemed a pledge of new ſucceſſes. But human greatneſs is as uncertain as human life. This proud conqueror died of a fiſtula at the age of thirty-three, after having named the duke of Bedford, his eldeſt brother, regent of France, and the duke of Gloſter, his youngeſt, of England. When dying, he declared his intention to attempt the conqueſt of Jeruſalem; an enterprize very little adapted to expiate the miſeries he had brought on France. He would have merited admiration as a hero and a great king, if he had not tarniſhed his glory by the injuſtice of an uſurper. Catherine of France, his widow, married, a ſhort time after his death, Owen Tudor, a Welſh gentleman, who is ſaid, but without certain proofs, to have been a deſcendant of the ancient princes

A. D. 1422. Death of Henry the fifth.

princes of Wales. We ſhall ſee the race of Tudor mount the throne [*b*].

The council of Conſtance put an end to the great ſchiſm, in 1414, by the depoſition of John the twenty-third, and the election of Martin the fifth. The authority of a general council over the popes was eſtabliſhed in this famous aſſembly. John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, two of Wickliff's diſciples, were there condemned as

End of the great ſchiſm.

[*b*] This prince poſſeſſed many eminent virtues: and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unſtained by any conſiderable blemiſh.—That he could forgive the earl of March, who had a better right to the throne than himſelf, is a ſure proof of his magnanimity; and that the earl relied ſo intirely on his friendſhip, is no leſs a proof of his eſtabliſhed character for candor and ſincerity. There remain in hiſtory few inſtances of ſuch mutual truſt; and ſtill fewer where neither party had reaſon to repent it.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His ſtature was ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and ſlender, but full of vigor; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes. He left one ſon, not full nine months old; whoſe miſfortunes, in the courſe of his life, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father. HUME.

heretics,

heretics, and burnt, notwithſtanding the ſafe-conduct of the emperor. This violence kindled a war in Germany, in which Ziſca, general of the Huſſites, rendered himſelf celebrated by his exploits.

Poverty of the crown.

We find under this reign, a ſtate of the fixed revenues of the crown. They amounted to no more than fifty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and fourteen pounds ſterling. The ordinary expences amounted to more than fifty-two thouſand. The king was therefore obliged, in order to ſupport the expences of war, to pawn his jewels, and even his crown itſelf; to borrow money every where, without being able to pay it; and to have continual recourſe to parliament, from whence he drew ſubſidies little proportioned to his wants.

Pay of the troops.

The pay of the troops ſwallowed up all the money he could raiſe; every horſeman had two ſhillings a day, every archer ſix pence; ſums very conſiderable in that age. Calais, which was of no uſe but to preſerve a free entry into France, coſt annually nineteen thouſand pounds. If the poverty of the Engliſh monarchs held them

them in a kind of dependence, it occaſioned alſo many abuſes of the royal prerogative. The government could not be otherwiſe than ill-regulated, whilſt œconomy did not enable the prince to ſupport the expences of the ſtate. No prince, however, of the houſe of Lancaſter levied any tax without the conſent of parliament. The rights of the nation on this article ſeem now to have been aſcertained.

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## HENRY the Sixth.

THE minority of an infant king ſeemed to threaten England with ſtorms. The parliament, ſo jealous of its authority, found a favorable occaſion to fix and extend its power. It changed the title of regent into that of protector, or guardian of the kingdom, to which it doubtleſs annexed a more limited idea; conferred this title on the duke of Bedford, and in his abſence on the duke of Gloſter, his younger brother; named a council, the advice and approbation of which was neceſſary in all important affairs; and

A. D. 1422. The parliament name a protector.

and entruſted the perſon of the young king to the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had not, however, been appointed by Henry the fifth to this important office. The two princes had reaſon to be offended at theſe changes, ſo contrary to the will of the late king. They had, notwithſtanding, the prudence to acquieſce in them, rather than excite troubles in the ſtate. Abſorbed in their deſigns againſt France, and zealous for the public good, they wiſely avoided conteſts as dangerous as they were ineffectual.

Affairs of France.

Charles the ſixth died a few weeks after his ſon-in-law. The dauphin, crowned at Poictiers under the name of Charles the ſeventh, a prince mild, amiable, generous, of a flexible temper, indolent, corrupted by pleaſures, but capable of one day correcting the defects of his youth, gained a great number of partizans; and the French, ever ſtrongly attached by the national ſpirit to their ſovereign, could not be ſo blinded as not to perceive that they ſhould be ruined under a foreign dominion. The prudent Bedford apprehended a revolution, which the celerity and vigor of his meaſures could ſcarce

Prudence of the duke of Bedford.

ſcarce prevent. He employed all his policy to gain powerful ſuccours. The dukes of Burgundy and Britany, and the count de Richemond, brother to the latter, renewed with him an alliance fatal to France. He perſuaded the Engliſh to reſtore liberty to the king of Scotland, James the ſecond, who had been their priſoner from infancy, and to deliver the kingdom by this ſtep from the incurſions of the Scots. After theſe precautions, he recommenced hoſtilities. Several places, which remained to Charles the ſeventh in the northern provinces, were taken by the enemy. This prince ſent againſt them an army of fourteen thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France. This army was his principal reſource. The conſtable took Verneuil in Normandy, and might have retreated with glory without hazarding a battle. A chimerical point of honor carried it above the wiſe admonitions of prudence. They were aſhamed to give way before the Engliſh. The experience of paſt misfortunes could not reſtrain the natural vivacity of the French. The viſcount of Narbonne broke his ranks

A. D. 1424. Battle of Verneuil.

ranks in order to charge with more precipitation, and drew the firſt line after him. The Engliſh archers ſignalized themſelves as uſual. Bedford, at the head of the men at arms, completed the victory. The conſtable periſhed, with a great number of lords, and near four thouſand French. A kind of fatality ſeemed to ſubjugate France to the genius of England.

The duke of Gloſter eſpouſes the counteſs of Hainault.

But whilſt the battle of Verneuil ruined the hopes of Charles, the paſſions of a woman ſowed diſcord amongſt his enemies. The counteſs of Hainault, animated by a violent antipathy againſt the duke of Brabant her huſband, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy, determined to procure a diſſolution of her marriage, and retired into England; where the duke of Gloſter, ſtruck with her charms, and allured by her rich inheritance, married her without even waiting for the diſpenſation from Rome. He haſtened immediately to the Low Countries, to take poſſeſſion of this princeſs's dominions. The duke of Burgundy exclaimed loudly againſt an injuſtice by which he was perſonally affected, and went himſelf to the aſ-

ſiſtance

ſiſtance of the duke of Brabant. The war was every where rekindled. Bedford endeavored in vain to ſtop the raſhneſs of his brother, and moderate the anger of the duke of Burgundy. Compelled to make a voyage to England, he unavoidably gave Charles time to repair his laſt misfortune. Nothing could be more advantageous to this king than to attach to himſelf the princes of France, whoſe revolt led to the ruin of the monarchy. Philip the good, already diſguſted with the Engliſh, could not, however, yet conquer his averſion to the French monarch. But the duke of Britany lent an ear to propoſals of accommodation, and the count de Richmond accepted the ſword of conſtable. This great captain, a good Frenchman, but a bad courtier, delivered himſelf ſoon [c] from the miniſters and favorites of Charles, drew on himſelf that diſgrace which his violences merited, and at length regained the favor and confidence of his maſter.

The famous Baſtard of Orleans, known under the title of Count de

[c] By cauſing them to be aſſaſſinated.

Dunois,

Dunois, another hero born for the good of France, defeated the Engliſh, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of Montargis. This advantage revived the hopes of the nation. But Bedford returned from England more formidable than ever. After having forced the duke of Britany to ſubmit, he projected an attempt, on the ſucceſs of which the crown ſeemed to depend. Orleans was a place of the laſt importance, which alone ſhut up his paſſage to the ſouthern provinces. Determined to make every poſſible effort, he intruſted the command of this expedition to the earl of Saliſbury, a celebrated general, who had brought him a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men. The ſiege of Orleans fixed the eyes of all Europe. Amazing acts of valor were performed on both ſides. Though the Engliſh had cannon, they reſolved to take the city by famine, and inveſted it every day more cloſely. A repulſe which the French met, in attacking one of the enemy's detachments, increaſed the danger of the beſieged. They offered to ſequeſter the place into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. Bedford rejected

A. D. 1428. Siege of Orleans.

jected this propoſal with haughtineſs, ſaying, he was not a man to beat the buſhes for others to take the game. The duke of Burgundy, piqued at this anſwer, withdrew his troops. But Orleans was already at the laſt extremity. The king meditated a ſhameful retreat. His wife, Mary of Anjou, and his miſtreſs, Agnes Sorel, inſpired him with ſentiments more worthy of him. Love, which generally enervates the heart, gave to his new vigor. He determined to conquer, or die a monarch. A ſimple country girl ſeemed ſent by miracle to take him from the precipice, and fix the crown on his head.

The maid of Orleans.

Joan of Arc, or the Maid of Orleans, born in the village of Dom-Remi, near Vaucouleurs in Lorrain, was a young girl of about ſeventeen years of age, virtuous, unknown, accuſtomed only to the occupations of a ruſtic life. At the continual relations ſhe heard of the miſeries of France, her imagination was ſo fired, that, loſing ſight of every other object, and abandoning herſelf to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, ſhe fancied ſhe heard celeſtial voices, and believed herſelf called by heaven to the

defence of the kingdom. She imparted her viſions to the governor of Vaucouleurs, who, after having rejected her as a lunatic, aſtoniſhed at her perſeverance, conſented to ſend her to the king. She ſupported at court the character of an inſpired perſon with a candor and firmneſs which aſtoniſhed the moſt incredulous. An aſſembly of learned doctors and theologians, with the parliament of Poictiers, having examined her miſſion, pronounced it ſupernatural. They were undoubtedly intereſted to believe or to feign ſuch a miracle; but in thoſe ages of ignorance, the *marvellous* had no occaſion for the ſupport of policy in order to its being eagerly received. Without inſiſting on the incredible accounts given by hiſtorians of the predictions of the Maid, we will obſerve only that her enthuſiaſm, joined to very extraordinary qualities, could not fail to make a very lively impreſſion. She had promiſed to deliver Orleans. Before ſhe attempted this enterprize, ſhe wrote to Bedford, commanding him, in the name of the all-powerful Creator, to raiſe the ſiege and evacuate France.

The

The duke treated the letter with deriſion, though ſecretly ſtruck with the ſtrong perſuaſion of her miſſion which ſo generally prevailed. The young heroine, at length, armed cap-a-pee, managing her horſe with addreſs, and holding in her hand a conſecrated banner, appeared at the head of the troops like a tutelary angel, whoſe preſence made them deſpiſe all dangers. Dunois directed her by his counſels; the ſoldiers followed her with an implicit confidence. She entered the city, into which ſhe introduced a reinforcement, and a convoy of proviſions. The earl of Suffolk, the Engliſh general (Saliſbury having been killed by a cannon ball), ſeeing the troops ſeized with terror, did not dare to make any reſiſtance. The garriſon thought themſelves invincible under the banners of the Maid. Frequent ſallies, always attended with ſucceſs, completed the conſternation of the enemy. They attributed to an infernal power what the French regarded as the work of the Almighty. Driven from their entrenchments, they raiſed the ſiege. The French purſued them, and attacked Jargeau,

where Suffolk had ſhut himſelf up: they forced the place, and took the general priſoner: they gained at Patai a new victory. The courage of the Maid, her name alone, repaired the diſaſters of Agincourt and Verneuil.

The moſt important part of her commiſſion was, as ſhe aſſerted, to cauſe the king to be crowned at Rheims. It was neceſſary firſt to traverſe a great extent of country occupied by the Engliſh; an enterprize uncommonly daring, and, in any other circumſtance, impoſſible. Charles, who till then had taken care of his perſon, on which the ſafety of the ſtate depended, ſuffered himſelf to be carried along by the torrent of ſucceſs, and the preſſing inſtances of the heroine. This moment of enthuſiaſm promiſed to be deciſive. At the head of twelve thouſand men, almoſt without proviſions, and deſtitute of every reſource, the king plunged himſelf into the midſt of ſo many enemies and ſo many dangers. Troyes and Chalons opened their gates to him. He arrived at Rheims, and was crowned there in preſence of the Maid, who partook the glory of this affecting ceremony.

ceremony. A divine hand ſeemed to guide the ſovereign; his coronation rendered him moſt venerable in the eyes of his people. Laon, Soiſſons, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, and ſome other places, willingly ſubmitted to him; a ſpirit of patriotiſm revived in all hearts; and the French, recovered from their temporary folly, felt only an averſion to the yoke they had ſo ſhamefully impoſed on themſelves.

Bedford ſupports himſelf in France.

Bedford oppoſed the moſt conſummate prudence to this reverſe of fortune: active, vigilant, ſevere, he retained Paris in obedience; he ſucceeded in renewing the alliance with the duke of Burgundy; he retained in his ſervice a body of four thouſand men, which the biſhop of Wincheſter was conducting into Germany for a cruſade againſt the Huſſites: he cauſed the young king of England to be crowned king of France, a ceremony which the Pariſians could not ſee without regret. An unforeſeen event ſeemed to bring back fortune to his ſtandard. The Maid, after the coronation of Charles the ſeventh, deſired to return to the village where ſhe had before lived, aſſerting that her miſſion

was accompliſhed. They were too ſenſible of the influence which enthuſiaſm gave her over the troops, to deprive themſelves of ſo invaluable an advantage. Dunois perſuaded her to continue her ſervices. Compeigne being at that time beſieged by the duke of Burgundy, ſhe threw herſelf into the place; ſhe made a ſally with her uſual courage; twice ſhe repulſed the enemy, but was at length compelled to yield herſelf priſoner: abandoned, as it is ſaid, by the French officers, who were jealous of her glory. This circumſtance is more than doubtful, though in all ages the paſſions have led men to commit the baſeſt acts of perfidy. The triumph of the Engliſh was the higheſt eulogium on the heroine. They ſang Te Deum, as if they had gained the moſt important victory. Bedford obtained of the duke of Burgundy that ſhe ſhould be put into his hands. He now believed himſelf maſter of France; and, in the intoxication of revenge and of ſucceſs, he tarniſhed all his glory, by an injuſtice equally ſhameful and inhuman.

The Maid taken priſoner.

The

The Maid, whoſe irreproachable conduct and unparalleled magnaminity merited the admiration and reſpect even of her enemies, ought at leaſt to have been treated as a priſoner of war. She had been taken fighting for her prince and her country. The law of nations, and every ſentiment of honor, rendered her perſon inviolable. But a cruel policy ſtifled the voice of juſtice. They ſought to deſtroy the illuſion, by puniſhing the deliverer of France; and, to complete the horror of this infamous action, they made religion the pretext for committing it. The biſhop of Beauvais, gained by the enemy, demanded that Joan ſhould be judged by an eccleſiaſtical tribunal, under pretence that ſhe had been taken in his dioceſe, and that ſhe had been guilty of hereſy and witchcraft. The univerſity of Paris, a body dedicated to the inſtruction of mankind, ſupported ſtrongly the abſurd pretenſions of the prelate. A number of French biſhops and doctors, to whom the cardinal of Wincheſter was added, were choſen to judge her, according to the forms of the inquiſition, the moſt proper of all others to deſtroy the innocent, and to

A. D. 1431. Trial of the maid.

charge virtue with imaginary crimes. The Maid appeared, in her military dreſs, and loaded with chains. They perplexed her near four months with captious interrogatories, from which ſhe extricated herſelf with aſtoniſhing wiſdom. "*You call yourſelf my judge*, ſaid ſhe to the biſhop of Beauvais; *but beware of the burden you are impoſing on yourſelf.*" Her viſions and revelations were the principal object of the proceſs. Being queſtioned why ſhe had aſſiſted at Charles's coronation, "*It is but juſt*, ſaid ſhe, *that the perſon who has ſhared the dangers and fatigues ſhould alſo partake the glory.*" This reply alone ought to have ſilenced her judges. She was notwithſtanding, in ſpite of her appeal to the pope, and her proteſtation againſt ſo wicked and unjuſt a procedure, declared guilty. The approach of death ſhook the conſtancy of her ſoul; ſhe ſubmitted herſelf to the judgement of the church; ſhe was condemned only to a perpetual impriſonment, and to be fed on bread and water. The rage of her perſecutors was not yet ſatisfied. They had obliged her to promiſe never again to bear arms, or wear the maſculine habit.

She is condemned.

habit. Reſolved to devote her to deſtruction, they ſucceeded in their purpoſe of ſurprizing her in priſon in that habit which her victories had rendered ſo dear to her; whether the guards, corrupted by her enemies, had removed her female dreſs, as ſome ancient records aſſert; or whether, in order to lead her into the ſnare, they had deſignedly left in her apartment a habit leſs becoming her ſex, as is related by ſeveral hiſtorians. Theſe barbarians only ſought a pretence to ruin her. They judged her *relapſed*, and delivered her over to the ſecular arm. This extraordinary girl, the prodigy of her age, the terror of the Engliſh, the preſerver of France, whoſe viſions may be regarded as an enthuſiaſtic delirium, but whoſe virtues, exalted character, and aſtoniſhing actions, cannot be too much admired, was burnt in the market-place at Roüen, as a ſorcerer and a heretic [*d*]. Monſtrelet, The Maid burnt.

[*d*] This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous ſuperſtition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of hereſy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by that dreadful puniſhment the ſignal ſervices which ſhe had ren-

a partizan of the Burgundians, endeavors to diminiſh her glory, by ſuppoſing her twenty-ſeven years old when ſhe firſt appeared on the ſcene. He aſſerts, *That ſhe had been ſeveral years ſervant at a little inn, where ſhe had the courage to manage horſes, to lead them to water, and to perform many things which other girls are not accuſtomed to do.* Authentic monuments prove the falſity of theſe aſſertions [*e*].

The Engliſh loſe their advantages in France.

The puniſhment of the Maid ſerved only to render the Engliſh more odious. Their affairs continued on the decline. Bedford, by an ill-timed haughtineſs, irritated the duke of Burgandy, whom it was of ſo much importance to him to manage. This prince opened his eyes on the wounds he had given his country, and on the injury he had done himſelf by

dered to her prince and to her native country. HUME.

[*e*] The moſt authentic record, the original account of the trial, makes her twenty-ſeven years old at the beginning of her ſuppoſed miſſion. A circumſtance, however, of little importance to the fame of this illuſtrious woman, which muſt laſt as long as mankind are awake to the generous feelings of patriotiſm and public virtue.

delivering

delivering up the kingdom to an enemy. Time, reflexion, and the public calamities, objects ſo capable of touching a ſoul naturally generous, began to weaken that ardor of revenge, which had armed him againſt his country and his ſovereign. Charles diſavowed the aſſaſſination of the duke his father, and offered him all the reparation which he could deſire: he even baniſhed from his court Tannegui du Chatel, the duke's murderer.

A. D. 1435. Treaty of Arras.

Conferences were at length opened at Arras. The pope, and the council of Baſle, were mediators. A peaceful office, of the kind which ought always to diſtinguiſh the church. They offered to the Engliſh prince, Normandy and Guyenne, on the ancient conditions of vaſſalage. This offer having been rejected, Philip the good made a ſeparate treaty, by which, beſides ſatisfaction for the murder of his father, he obtained a great number of towns in Picardy and elſewhere, which he was to poſſeſs, during his own life, in full ſovereignty: and Charles diſcharged his ſubjects from their oath of fidelity if he did not keep his engagement. The vaſſal

in this inſtance gave law to the ſovereign; but neceſſity covered the diſhonor of this humiliating ſubmiſſion. A few days after this treaty, the duke of Bedford, the moſt formidable enemy of France, died at Roüen. Queen Iſabella of Bavaria, widow of Charles the ſixth, ended about the ſame time her deteſtable life. A monſter of nature, unfortunate herſelf, after having cauſed the misfortunes of a whole nation, ſhe expiated her crimes, if an eternal ignominy could ſuffice to expiate them.

Factions in England. Advantages of the French.

The haughty and imperious character of the duke of Gloſter, and the artful policy of the cardinal of Wincheſter his uncle, produced ſuch factions in England as made them neglect their affairs abroad. Seven months paſſed before the commiſſion of the duke of York, the new governor of France, was diſpatched; and he found on his arrival a very advantageous change in favor of Charles the ſeventh.

The conſtable de Richemond had been privately introduced into Paris, from whence he had driven the Engliſh; the duke of Burgundy was their declared enemy; all the provinces

ſighed

ſighed for the re-eſtabliſhment of the legal authority. The war however continued ſome years, but without any memorable action. The two nations, failing of thoſe reſources which are only found in induſtry and commerce, were intirely exhauſted by war, ſo burdenſome even to the richeſt ſtates. Small parties over-ran the country, pillaged and deſtroyed, without performing any thing deciſive. The French made propoſitions of peace, which were however ineffectual, the enemies demanding terms which they could ſcarce have had a right to obtain at the height of their victories. The cardinal of Wincheſter procured at length the duke of Orleans's liberty, who had been priſoner ever ſince the battle of Agincourt. His ranſom was fixed at thirty ſix thouſand pounds ſterling of our preſent money; a ſum almoſt equal to the third part of the extraordinary ſubſidies which had been granted by parliament in the laſt ſeven years. A prince who is a priſoner ſeldom comes out of captivity without involving himſelf in ruin. The duke of Burgundy, with a very uncommon generoſity,

Ranſom of the duke of Orleans.

roſity, ſacrificed his ancient reſentments, and paid the ranſom of a prince who had been long his enemy. Actions like theſe diſplay the charms of virtue, even in the midſt of thoſe barbarities which tend to the utter deſtruction of the human race.

A. D. 1443. Truce with France.

Gloſter in vain oppoſed this treaty, on pretence that the duke of Orleans might be a dangerous enemy to England. The cardinal broke all his meaſures, and, without regard to his inclination for war, procured a truce of twenty-two months to be concluded with France. The great object of thoſe two rivals was to chooſe a queen for Henry the ſixth, now about twenty-three years old; a prince as weak by the natural bent of his temper as by that of his underſtanding, and formed to receive every impreſſion from a wife. The cardinal had the advantage in this deciſive affair. He fixed the king's choice on Margaret of Anjou, daughter to the titular king of Sicily, whoſe beauty, genius, and courage, were fated to become the admiration of all Europe. The new queen, ſoon after her arrival, eſpouſed the party of the ambitious prelate, and the other

Margaret of Anjou.

enemies of Gloſter. The death of this prince was reſolved upon. He was too dear to the people, too formidable by his birth and illuſtrious qualities, not to have been in a peculiar manner the object of hatred and of envy. They had already inſulted him in the moſt outrageous manner, by accuſing the dutcheſs of Gloſter of having attempted the king's life by magical operations: an abſurd accuſation, on which ſhe was however adjudged guilty, and condemned to a perpetual impriſonment. This magic conſiſted in making a wax figure, repreſenting the perſon it was meant to deſtroy: as the enchanted wax melted at a ſlow fire, the perſon was to conſume inſenſibly, and at length to expire. The people appeared the more attached to the duke, as they ſaw him more expoſed to injuſtice. The miniſters ſought means to ruin him without danger to themſelves. London was full of his partizans. They ſummoned a parliament at St. Edmundſbury. Gloſter was ſcarce arrived, when he was arreſted, accuſed, impriſoned. He died in priſon a few days after. His body was expoſed to public view; but,

A. D. 1447. Murder of the duke of Gloſter.

but, though there appeared no marks of violence, nobody doubted of a crime which the example of Edward and Richard the ſecond rendered ſo probable. This prince had cultivated learning, and had riſen above the ignorance and credulity of his age. The miracle of a blind man reſtored to ſight by touching the ſhrine of a ſaint made a great noiſe; Gloſter, having called this man to him, and pretending to doubt whether he had really recovered his ſight, aſked him the colors of the different habits of his attendants. The blind man named them all. *Thou art a rogue*, ſaid the duke; *if thou hadſt been born blind, thou couldſt not have diſtinguiſhed colors.* The cardinal of Wincheſter ſurvived but two months his nephew, of whom he was ſuppoſed to have been the murderer. The queen was alſo ſuſpected. Her intimate connexion with the duke of Suffolk, one of Gloſter's enemies, and the cardinal's accomplice, gave ſome appearance of probability to the ſuſpicion. The character of Margaret of Anjou will be more clearly developed in the courſe of this hiſtory.

During

During theſe troubles in England, the wiſe government of the king of France changed the face of his kingdom. The regular adminiſtration of juſtice, his attention to the finances, to diſcipline, commerce, and agriculture, made his people already forget their paſt misfortunes. Order was reeſtabliſhed, the nation found reſources in itſelf; the zeal of the French for a king ſo worthy of their love, excited them to deſtroy even the laſt trace of the Engliſh dominion. One of the Engliſh generals broke the truce [*f*], and furniſhed a pretence for taking arms. Though he was diſavowed by the court of London, as the reparation demanded was not made, Charles took advantage of this conjuncture, and in a ſhort time conquered Normandy. The following year they at- A. D. 1449.

The Engliſh driven from France.

[*f*] Sir Francis Surienne, who refuſed to deliver up Mans, of which he was governor; which, with the whole province of Maine, had been ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, by a treaty hitherto kept ſecret. He was driven from Mans, and afterwards committed depredations in Britany, which were diſavowed by the duke of Somerſet, the Engliſh general, at that time governor of Normandy.

tacked

tacked Guyenne. Bourdeaux, Bayonne, were obliged to ſurrender; and this province, which had belonged three hundred years to the crown of England, was reunited for ever to that of France. The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, ſupported to the laſt his brilliant reputation. *If he alone*, as father Orleans emphatically ſays, *was worth an army*, Dunois, who defeated him in more than one action, is above all praiſe.

Diſturbance in England. The duke of York.

The Engliſh, driven from France, of which the conqueſt could not be laſting, revenged on themſelves by their civil diſſenſions the evils they had brought on that kingdom. The weakneſs of Henry the ſixth encouraging the factious, a competitor appeared, who dared to diſpute the crown. This was the duke of York, firſt prince of the blood, heir by his mother to the houſe of Mortimer; which, as we have ſeen, had an inconteſtable right to the ſucceſſion of Richard the ſecond, which the houſe of Lancaſter had ſo unjuſtly uſurped. To this double advantage, and great perſonal merit, the duke joined very conſiderable alliances, having married the

the daughter of Nevil earl of Weſtmoreland, whoſe family was the moſt powerful in the kingdom. In this illuſtrious houſe, the earl of Warwick was particularly diſtinguiſhed; a nobleman extremely popular, generous, magnificent, and ſo opulent, that he is ſaid to have entertained daily thirty thouſand perſons at his different eſtates or caſtles. His hoſpitality and munificence gave him an abſolute empire over his numerous partizans. The revolution was his work alone.

A. D. 1450. Trial of the duke of Suffolk.

The duke of Suffolk, deteſted by the people as the aſſaſſin of the duke of Gloſter, hated by the great as firſt miniſter and favorite of the queen, was the more expoſed to envy, as, being the great grandſon of a merchant, he poſſeſſed all the authority of the ſtate with immenſe riches; he was the more expoſed to murmurs, as the extreme poverty of the crown, of which the debts amounted to three hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand pounds ſterling, obliged him to have recourſe to arbitrary expedients: Suffolk could not eſcape ſuch formidable enemies. The commons accuſed him of high treaſon, attributed to him the loſs of the Engliſh

liſh conqueſts in France, and even the abſurd deſign of dethroning his prince. This accuſation muſt neceſſarily fall to the ground on the leaſt examination. They added a ſecond, which turned in general on thoſe abuſes of the royal authority, of which the miniſter was probably culpable. Henry, fearing the conſequences of this affair, ſummoned the peers to court, and produced Suffolk before them. Having ſubmitted himſelf to the king's goodneſs, this prince baniſhed him for five years. The peers, as ſoon as they were returned to their houſe, entered a proteſt, declaring that this ſentence ſhould not affect their privileges, and that Suffolk had a right to have been judged by his peers, if he had not voluntarily ſubmitted himſelf to the king's orders. His enemies had reaſon to fear he would ſoon be reſtored to all his power. They delivered themſelves from him by a crime, and cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated at ſea.

Cade's inſurrection.

The duke of Somerſet, a prince of the blood royal, who had the command in France when Normandy was conquered from the Engliſh, ſucceeded to Suffolk's favor and to the general hatred

hatred of which he had been the object. A ſingular event made known the diſpoſition of the people. John Cade, a native of Ireland, a man of low birth, but a hardened villain, aſſumed the name, and endeavored to paſs for, the ſon of Sir John Mortimer, who was executed in the beginning of this reign, without any legal form of trial. At the name of Mortimer, twenty thouſand Kentiſhmen ranged themſelves under his banners. He publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the government, diſperſed a ſmall body of troops which had been ſent againſt him, was received in London from whence the court had retired, and maintained there for ſome time a ſtrict diſcipline amongſt his ſoldiers: but, not having been able at laſt to prevent their committing ſome violences, he was driven from thence by the citizens, ſeconded by a detachment from the Tower. A price was ſet on his head, and he was ſoon after killed [g]. The court ſuſpected the duke of York of having excited this inſurrection, in order to ſound the ſentiments of the na-

[g] By one Iden, a gentleman of Suſſex.

tion.

tions. This prince was ſtill in Ireland, where he had ſubdued the rebels, and merited the confidence and eſteem of the public. He haſtened to return into England. Judging there was no longer any ſafety for him except in vigorous meaſures, he filled the kingdom with the noiſe of his pretenſions and his rights.

Factions of Lancaſter and York, or the red and white roſes.

All minds were eagerly fixed on an object ſo intereſting. Opinion wavered between the houſe of Lancaſter and that of York. Plauſible reaſons were alledged on both ſides. "Richard the ſecond," ſaid the partizans of Lancaſter, "was dethroned by a national act; Henry the fourth was placed on the throne by the voluntary choice of the people: if the order of ſucceſſion was not then followed, could that order, eſtabliſhed for the public benefit, be now a reaſon for diſturbing the peace of the ſtate? have not two glorious reigns confirmed the poſſeſſion of the reigning family? have not the laws ſtrengthened his authority? have not the nation repeatedly renewed the oath of obedience? and has not the duke of York himſelf renounced his own rights,

rights, by acknowledging Henry the ſixth for his lawful ſovereign? To what miſeries will the people be expoſed, if they authorize revolutions ſo fatal, and ſo neceſſarily accompanied by all the honors of civil war?" The partizans of York maintained on their ſide, that the rights of ſucceſſion were the baſis of public tranquillity; that the injuſtice done in violating them could not be too ſoon repaired; that poſſeſſion ought not to give a title to uſurpers; that it required ages to render power acquired by violence legal; that the depoſition of Richard, and the crowning of Henry the fourth, had been the fruit of blind rage, and of a popular inſurrection, rather than a free and deliberate act of the nation; that the lawful heirs had ſubmitted to force, without renouncing their rights; in ſhort, that a change of which the object was the eſtabliſhment of order, far from overturning the ſtate, would ſecure it for the future from ſimilar revolutions.

A. D. 1452.

Theſe arguments appeared more or leſs convincing, according to the prejudices of party. It belonged to arms to decide the diſpute. The imbecillity

becillity of the king, and the moderation and circumſpection of the duke of York, ſuſpended the rupture. But the commons in ſome ſort gave the ſignal, by preſenting an addreſs againſt the duke of Somerſet and ſome other perſons, whom they deſired Henry to diſmiſs from his counſels and preſence. The duke of York, animated by this attempt, raiſed troops, and joined in demanding the diſmiſſion of the miniſter, and the reformation of the ſtate. An interview was agreed on, where he found himſelf in the midſt of his enemies, without any means of eſcaping. But they feared leſt his ſon ſhould revenge him; reſtored him to liberty, and ſuffered him to retire to one his eſtates [*b*]. The bad ſucceſs of an expedition in Guyenne, which coſt the celebrated Talbot his life, and the birth of a ſon to Henry, which deprived the duke of all hope of ſucceeding to the crown without effuſion of blood, increaſed the activity of his party. Henry falling ſick, the court were compelled to give the

[*b*] To his ſeat at Wigmore on the borders of Wales.

title

title of lieutenant of the kingdom; the parliament added to it that of protector. Somerſet was arreſted. With a more daring ſpirit the protector would have rendered himſelf maſter of all. His moderation gave his enemies time to prepare their batteries. The monarch, ſeeming to be recovered, declared his reſolution to reſume the reins of government, to take Somerſet from his priſon, and again place all authority in his hands. York had every thing to fear. He raiſed an army; and, without inſiſting on his claim to the crown, demanded a reformation of the ſtate. The royaliſts marched againſt him; they were defeated at St. Albans; the duke of Somerſet was killed in the action; the king fell into the hands of the conqueror, who treated him with reſpect, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the royal authority.

A. D. 1455. Battle of St. Albans.

This was only a feeble prelude to that raging quarrel, which thirty years of civil war, twelve pitched battles, and many rivers of blood, rendered ſo fatal to England. Civil fury had not yet annihilated every ſentiment of humanity. On one ſide, the ſtrong and vigorous genius of Margaret of

Anjou ſupported the tottering throne; on the other, the irreſolute character of the duke of York held affairs in ſuſpence. The parliament reſtored to this prince the title of protector; but he was alſo obliged to take the oath of fidelity to the king. Margaret, ſome time after, found a favorable opportunity to re-eſtabliſh the authority of her huſband. The protector conſented to the change. They endeavored to draw him to court, as well as the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, his principal partizans, in the intention of ſecuring their perſons, or putting them to death. Informed of this deſign, they retired to a place of ſecurity. The archbiſhop of Canterbury labored to reſtore peace. A diſſembled reconciliation was all the fruits of his zeal. After the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of friendſhip, they only waited a favorable moment to take arms. A diſpute between two private perſons [*i*], renewed the war. Saliſbury gained the battle of Bloreheath in 1459; Warwick that of North-

[*i*] A domeſtic of the king's, and one of the earl of Warwick's.

ampton

ampton the following year. The king was again made priſoner. The duke of York returned from Ireland, whither he had retired, and with a ſingular moderation preſented to the peers the evidences of his title to the crown, ſubmitting them in ſome ſort to their judgement. After deliberating ſome time in what manner to proceed, the peers, having ſummoned the principal members of the houſe of commons, took the affair into conſideration; propoſed their doubts, weighed the arguments on both ſides, and at length determined, that the duke of York's claim was legal; but that, as Henry had poſſeſſed the crown thirty-eight years without its having been diſputed, he ſhould enjoy it during his life; and that the duke ſhould be acknowledged his heir, and govern the kingdom in his name. A. D. 1460.

His moſt powerful enemy was queen Margaret, a woman above her ſex, ſuperior to every danger, and capable of the nobleſt efforts of heroiſm. She had taken refuge in Scotland: ſhe raiſed troops in the north of England. The governing party ſent her an order to return, either to ſtop the Margaret of Anjou aſſerts her huſband's cauſe.

courſe of her exploits, or to have a pretence to ſend her into exile. They were ſoon informed ſhe had begun her march at the head of twenty thouſand men. The duke of York, who had only five thouſand, imprudently hazarded a battle. His little army was defeated at Wakefield, and he periſhed himſelf in the action: his ſon, the earl of Rutland, a young prince infinitely amiable, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and was inhumanly murdered in cold blood by lord Clifford. The earl of Saliſbury, and ſome other priſoners of diſtinction, were executed by martial law. Theſe examples of barbarity, theſe illegal executions, were an hundred times repeated in the ſequel; ſo atrocious is the ſpirit of civil war.

Death of the duke of York.

A. D. 1461. A body of the queen's troops having been defeated by Edward, the new duke of York, ſhe repaired this loſs by gaining a ſecond victory over Warwick at St. Albans. Henry recovered his liberty, or rather only changed his maſters; for, being naturally formed to obey, it little imported him to which ſide the balance inclined, provided thoſe

thoſe into whoſe hands he chanced to fall, treated him humanely.

The duke of York's forces were now ſuperior. The queen retired, and he was received in London with the loudeſt acclamations. More daring than his father, and more certain of the attachment of the people, who were dazzled by his ſhining qualities, he reſolved to aſſume the regal title. His friends harangued the multitude, and demanded of them whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter, or Edward, ſon to the late duke of York, for their king. All declared in favor of the latter. A numerous aſſembly of prelates, peers, magiſtrates, and other diſtinguiſhed perſons, confirmed the popular election; and Edward the fourth was proclaimed in the capital. He was then in his nineteenth year, full of fire, activity, and courage; but of a diſpoſition to ſhed without remorſe the blood of others, in order to ſatisfy his ambition or his vengeance. Henry the ſixth dethroned.

It is proper to obſerve, under this reign, a wiſe law in reſpect to parliamentary elections. The number of electors had been ſo much increaſed as to give riſe to many diſorders.

The right of election was confined to ſuch as poſſeſſed in land, free from all burden, within the county, forty ſhillings a year; a ſum equivalent to twenty pounds of our preſent money.

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## EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1461. Cruelty of Edward.

THE two implacable factions of the red and white roſe, the firſt attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, the ſecond to that of York, drenched the whole kingdom in blood before the government was eſtabliſhed on a ſolid baſis. Edward himſelf had but too much inclination to fix his power by the moſt cruel executions. In the beginning of his reign, a tradeſman in London, who had the crown for his ſign, was condemned and executed for having ſaid in jeſt, that he would make his ſon heir to the *crown*. This barbarous action was followed by ſcenes yet more bloody. The intrepid queen Margaret had aſſembled in the north an army of ſixty thouſand men. The new king and the earl of Warwick haſtened to oppoſe its progreſs. They were

were on the eve of a furious battle. To inſpire his troops with courage, Warwick killed his horſe in their preſence, and ſwore to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier. It was at the ſame time proclaimed, that whoever wiſhed to retire was at full liberty; but that none who behaved with cowardice in the battle ſhould be ſpared. The two armies fought with all the rage of animoſity at Touton. That of Margaret, though by one third the moſt numerous, was defeated. Orders were given to grant no quarter. Thirty-ſix thouſand men remained on the field, maſſacred by their fellow-citizens. The earl of Weſtmoreland, head of the houſe of Nevil, a family attached to the duke of York, periſhed, with the earl of Northumberland and ſeveral other lords. Henry the ſixth and queen Margaret fled into Scotland; where the inteſtine diſorders, occaſioned by the minority of James the third, prevented their receiving any conſiderable ſuccours. Battle of Touton.

The conquering king haſtened to ſummon a parliament. His title was there, without any difficulty, acknow-

ledged. Several acts of the late reigns were annulled by a positive law. Henry, Margaret, their son, and their principal adherents, were declared enemies to the state. Thus fortune in one moment overturns monarchs, the laws, and even the general ideas of mankind. Margaret now sollicited succours from Lewis the eleventh, Charles the seventh's successor; a prince more artful than enterprizing, and who, determined on subduing his great vassals, dreaded the hazard and embarrassment of foreign wars. As he was promised the restitution of Calais, he granted her, however, two thousand men at arms; to whom were joined a body of Scots adventurers, and all the more zealous adherents of the red rose. The battle of Hexham destroyed the party's small remains of hope. Lord Montague cut the queen's army in pieces. Many of the most illustrious nobles of the kingdom lost their heads by martial law. It was the system of Edward to exterminate his enemies. He attempted to cement by their blood a throne founded on violence, and therefore exposed to revolutions. Margaret, after her defeat,

A. D. 1464. Battle of Hexham. Danger of Margaret.

feat, flying through a foreſt, was there deſpoiled by robbers. Having eſcaped this danger, ſhe ſaw another robber advance, with his ſword drawn. "*Approach, friend*, ſaid ſhe, preſenting to him her ſon; *I entruſt to your care the ſon of your king.*" Souls hardened in crimes are yet ſometimes ſuſceptible of virtue and honor. This man, touched with this generous confidence, took care of the queen, and conveyed her to a place of ſafety. She eſcaped to France ſome time after. Henry remained a year concealed in Lancaſhire. He was at length diſcovered, and confined in the Tower. His weakneſs rendered him too contemptible, to make it neceſſary for Edward to attempt his life.

Marriage of the king with Elizabeth Wideville.

Edward, victorious over all his enemies, and peaceable poſſeſſor of the crown, ſeeing his rights legally confirmed and generally acknowledged, gave himſelf up to the exceſſive inclination he had for pleaſures, and found there a rock fatal to his repoſe and to his honor. The graces of his perſon, his affability, his gallantry, though joined to an unfeeling, and cruel diſpoſition, rendered him charm-

ing in the eyes of thoſe women with whom he became enamored. His wiſhes found few obſtacles. One alone enſlaved by reſiſting him. Chance brought him acquainted with Elizabeth Wideville, widow of Sir John Gray, a private gentleman, but daughter to the dutcheſs of Bedford [*k*], by her ſecond marriage with a perſon whoſe birth had nothing in it illuſtrious [*l*]. Struck by the charms of the young widow, who on her knees implored his protection for her orphan children, the king paſſed ſoon from pity to the moſt lively tenderneſs. The virtue of Elizabeth continued inflexible. Eſteem augmented his paſſion. Edward offered his crown to this lovely widow. A private marriage united them, whilſt Warwick was employed in negotiating, by order of the king himſelf, an alliance worthy of him, with Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France. The advice which he received of what was tranſacting in England, inſpired this for-

[*k*] Jaqueline de Luxembourg.

[*l*] Sir Richard Wideville, afterwards created lord Rivers.

midable lord with the keeneſt indignation. He thought himſelf inſulted, and haſtened his return. Inſtead of ſoftening his reſentment, the king inflamed it ſtill more, by laviſhing titles and favors of every kind on the relations of the queen. This partiality excited the greater jealouſy amongſt the nobles, as Edward, by virtue of an act of parliament, had reſumed moſt of the grants made by him ſince his coming to the crown. A crowd of malecontents eſpouſed Warwick's cauſe; the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, married one of his daughters; and the government was threatened with new ſtorms. Edward endeavored to prevent them. He formed an alliance with the duke of Burgundy, the implacable enemy of Lewis the eleventh, deſcended by his mother from the houſe of Lancaſter, but ſacrificing without regret, to a ſelfiſh policy, this oppreſſed and unfortunate family. The duke of Britany alſo allied himſelf with Edward.

The ſpirit of faction, invariably an enemy to truth, has ſo much altered the hiſtory of theſe times, that it is impoſſible to decide with any certainty New diſturbance.

between the different parties. We ſee a great revolt in Yorkſhire mentioned by one ſet of writers as the work of the earl of Warwick; whilſt others aſſert that his advice contributed greatly to diſperſe it. A ſecond happened ſoon after, of which it is impoſſible for us to develop the motives. Cruel acts of vengeance, and arbitrary executions, conſtantly followed theſe inſurrections. The ſame fury reigned on both ſides; and amongſt ſo many doubtful facts, it is but too certain that the laws and humanity were equally ſacrificed to the impulſes of paſ-

A. D. 1470. ſion. At length, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick declared openly againſt the king. Their deſigns were unſucceſsful, and they were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in flight. Lewis the eleventh ſucceeded in reconciling Warwick to queen Margaret, who reſided at Angers. Never did an animoſity more violent cede to political intereſts. The father of this celebrated general had been executed by the queen's orders. This princeſs ſaw in him the oppreſſor of her huſband, and the author of all her own misfortunes. They notwithſtanding

ſtanding agreed to unite in an attempt to dethrone Edward, and re-eſtabliſh Henry the ſixth; and Clarence ſeemed to enter into their views, though he began to perceive that he acted againſt his own real intereſt in conſpiring againſt his brother.

Henry the ſixth re-eſtabliſhed by Warwick.

A blind confidence, joined to the infatuation of pleaſures, lulled Edward into an inſenſibility of his danger. Far from preparing againſt an approaching invaſion, he pretended to deſire nothing ſo much as to ſee his enemies land in England. Warwick arrived there ſoon after. His name, ſo dear to the Engliſh, his exceſſive popularity, the turbulent temper of the nation, drew in a few days more than ſixty thouſand men to his ſtandard. The king marched with precipitation againſt him. The two armies met near Nottingham. A nocturnal attack threw the royal camp into diſorder. Edward had only time to eſcape. Warwick, become maſter of the kingdom eleven days after his arrival, haſtened to London, took Henry from his priſon, proclaimed him king, and aſſembled the parliament at Weſtminſter, where all the acts paſſed in the

the late reign were abrogated: the earl of Worceſter, conſtable of England, was condemned to death; the firſt nobleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the cultivation of learning: in ſhort, the revolution was ſo rapid, that it is ſcarce poſſible to follow its traces.

Edward reſumes the crown.

England was a moving ſcene of perpetual viciſſitudes. Edward was not long before he appeared on it again. The duke of Burgundy, who had neglected him at the beginning of his misfortunes to pay his court to the new government, ſeeing his hopes deceived, fitted out for him, under the name of ſome private merchants, a ſmall fleet, and gave him a ſum of money. With this feeble aſſiſtance, Edward, accompanied by only two thouſand men, landed in England; proteſting he did not come to rekindle the flames of civil diſcord, but merely to take poſſeſſion of his patrimony, the inheritance of the houſe of York. He had ſoon a conſiderable army under his command; he dextrouſly avoided Warwick, and was admitted into London, where the women adored him, and where the merchants his creditors

creditors earneſtly deſired to ſee him reſtored, that the ſums he was indebted to them might be paid. He preſented himſelf before the enemy, in order of battle. Queen Margaret was on the point of arriving with her troops. Warwick, inſtead of waiting for this reinforcement, piqued himſelf on having all the honor of the victory. The duke of Clarence abandoned him in the night; and paſſed, at the head of twelve thouſand men, into the camp of the king his brother. They gave battle at Barnet. A. D. 1471. Warwick was killed; Edward remained conqueror. Margaret arrived in England, with her ſon the young prince Edward. She loſt the battle of Tewkeſbury, and was made priſoner: her ſon, a priſoner alſo, having made a daring reply to the king, received a blow from his hand; on which he was ſtabbed by the dukes of Clarence and Gloſter. Henry the ſixth died ſome days after in his priſon, perhaps by another aſſaſſination. This unhappy prince, of too weak an underſtanding to have great virtues, enjoyed a reputation of ſanctity, which rendered

Defeat of Warwick, and of Margaret.

Death of Henry the ſixth.

rendered him reſpectable to the people.

After ſo many ſcenes of the moſt ſavage barbarity, the king ſuffered himſelf to be lulled aſleep in the boſom of voluptuouſneſs; more attentive to the means of filling his coffers than to thoſe of healing the wounds of his kingdom. His popular manners, his gaiety, his very amuſements, rendered him pleaſing to the nation. An attempt on France might pleaſe them ſtill more. Edward entered into a league with Charles duke of Burgundy, to diſmember this monarchy. The parliament granted him a ſubſidy. The Engliſh army landed ſoon after at Calais. But the impetuous heat of Burgundy was turned on Lorrain. Edward, not finding the ſuccours he expected, lent an ear to the offers of Lewis the eleventh; a prince who deſpiſed the glory acquired by arms, who dreaded the uncertain events of war, and gained his purpoſes by methods ſo much the more ſure as he was the leſs ſcrupulous in keeping his engagements. Money was the principal engine of his politics. They concluded a treaty at Pequigni, near Amiens, by

A. D. 1475. Lewis makes peace with Edward.

by which Lewis, without any ſenſe of ſhame, engaged himſelf to pay to Edward an annual ſum of fifty thouſand crowns. He gained the Engliſh miniſters by penſions; he affected an intire confidence in the king: he however eluded with dexterity the propoſition of receiving at Paris a viſit from this dangerous gueſt. "Edward is a very handſome and gallant prince," ſaid he to Comines: "ſome miſtreſs that he may attach at Paris, may induce him to return in a different manner. It is better the ſea ſhould ſeparate us." In ſpite of his profound diſſimulation, there eſcaped him one day ſome raillery againſt this prince, who had ſuffered himſelf to be diſarmed by money. But, having obſerved that a Gaſcon ſettled in England had overheard him, he retained him in France by his liberality. "I have ſaid too much," ſaid he on this occaſion; "it is but juſt I ſhould pay the penalty." The only honorable article of this treaty was, the deliverance of queen Margaret, whoſe ranſom he paid. She lived till 1482, in a peaceful retreat, after having aſtoniſhed the world by prodigies of valor, which

which would have done more honor to her ſex, if ſhe had poſſeſſed its ſoftneſs and other amiable virtues.

A. D. 1477. Proſecution of the duke of Clarence and his friends.

Though the duke of Clarence, by betraying Warwick to join the king, had contributed to the revolution, yet the violence and inconſtancy of his character had rendered him equally ſuſpected and odious. The duke of Gloſter, his youngeſt brother, did not hate him leſs than Edward. Determined on his ruin, they began with that of his friends. Edward, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, killed a white deer, for which this gentleman had a great affection. Burdet, tranſported with paſſion, wiſhed the horns of the deer were in the belly of him who had adviſed the king to offer him this inſult. This very pardonable ſally of reſentment appeared a crime worthy of death. The accuſed perſon was a friend of Clarence; he could not therefore eſcape puniſhment. An eccleſiaſtic was, for the ſame reaſon, executed as a ſorcerer, becauſe he underſtood mathematics and aſtronomy. The ignorance of the age ſerved to render the vengeance of the court triumphant.

Clarence

Clarence could not doubt that theſe blows were pointed at him. Far from parrying them by a prudent conduct, he provoked the hatred of the miniſtry by exclaiming loudly againſt this injuſtice. The king had him arreſted. He was tried by the peers. Some unguarded expreſſions of the duke, without any overt act of treaſon, were thought ſufficient for his condemnation. The king's preſence took from the judges themſelves the liberty of giving their ſuffrages. The commons had the baſeneſs to concur in this iniquity of the peers, and demanded Clarence's execution. It is aſtoniſhing to ſee the parliament at that time the conſtant creature of the court, yet obſtinate in refuſing the moſt neceſſary ſubſidies. Did they regard the lives of their fellow-citizens, and even thoſe of the princes of the blood royal, as leſs precious than the public money? All the favor which was ſhewn to the brother of the king, was that of allowing him to chuſe the manner of his death. He deſired to be drowned in a butt of malmſey; ſo fond was he of this liquor, or rather ſo capricious in every thing. We

Injuſtice of the parliament.

ſee

ſee the man even in the laſt moments of his life.

Edward the fourth never deviated from his character; cruel and voluptuous, violent and without true policy. He had betrothed his four daughters, in their moſt tender years, to powerful princes [*m*]. None of theſe marriages took place. The dauphin, ſon to Lewis the eleventh, who, by an article of the treaty of Pequigni, was to have eſpouſed the eldeſt, married the daughter of the emperor Maximilian. The king deſired eagerly to revenge this inſult. Lewis had the addreſs to arm Scotland againſt him. Gloſter invaded Scotland, ſeized Berwick, and obliged the Scots to purchaſe a peace by
A. D. 1482. the ceſſion of this place. Edward was preparing to carry the war into France, when he died, at the age of forty-one, leaving a bloody crown to his ſon,

[*m*] His eldeſt daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the dauphin; his ſecond, Cicely, to the eldeſt ſon of James the third, king of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip, the eldeſt ſon of Maximilian and the dutcheſs of Burgundy; his fourth, Catharine, to John, ſon and heir to Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Iſabella queen of Caſtile. None of theſe projected marriages took place. HUME.

the

the young prince of Wales, whoſe reign laſted only two months.

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## EDWARD the Fifth, and RICHARD the Third.

AFTER the extinction of the civil wars in the late reign, two irreconcileable parties had divided the court; that of the queen and her relations, the principal of whom were her brother the earl of Rivers, and her ſon the marquis of Dorſet; and that of the ancient nobility, jealous of theſe new men who governed all. The duke of Buckingham, though brother-in-law to the queen, lord Haſtings, high chamberlain, with the lords Howard and Stanley, were at the head of this ſecond faction. Edward the fourth, before he died, had brought about an apparent reconciliation. But in courts a change of countenance is by no means a proof that intereſts or ſentiments are changed. The king was ſcarce dead, when both parties, following their ſeparate views, applied them- A. D. 1482.

themſelves to gain the duke of Gloſter, regent of the kingdom. This prince, cruel, ambitious, capable of every crime, covered his deep and artful policy, and the native wickedneſs of his ſoul, under the maſk of the moſt profound diſſimulation. He affected a great zeal for the queen, in order to draw her into the ſnare. Earl Rivers, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed merit, had the care of educating the king his nephew, then only twelve years old, and reſided with him at Ludlow, on the borders of Wales. The queen at firſt directed that her ſon ſhould be conducted to London with a body of troops. Deceived by Gloſter's arts, ſhe revoked this order. The regent received Rivers in the moſt affectionate manner, and had him arreſted the following day. At this news, the queen fled to the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, with the duke of York her ſecond ſon. It was neceſſary to take from her ſo precious a depoſite. Gloſter in council proteſted againſt this unjuſt ſuſpicion; he repreſented the neceſſity of the young prince's preſence at the coronation of his brother; he propoſed to take him

him forcibly from an aſylum which was only intended for the protection of criminals; the prelates inſiſted that the ſanctuary was inviolable; but, not divining the regent's deſigns, they went to the queen, and ſollicited her to ſuffer her ſon to leave his aſylum: ſhe conſented at length, but with the ſtrongeſt reluctance, after having bathed him with her tears, and bid him a laſt adieu.

Wickedneſs of Gloſter.

Inſurmountable barriers ſeemed to render for ever hopeleſs the ambitious Gloſter's views on the crown. Beſides the children of Edward the fourth, there remained two of the unfortunate duke of Clarence, elder brother to the regent. But nothing can deter the wretch who tramples all laws, all duties, under his feet. Being declared protector by the council, who had no fears in regard to the ſucceſſion, he cauſed the earl of Rivers, and Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's ſons by her firſt marriage, to be immediately executed: he eaſily brought to enter into his views the duke of Buckingham, whoſe conſcience had no guide but intereſt; and, not being able to ſeduce lord Haſtings,

A ſingular accuſation.

Haſtings, a faithful ſubject to the ſon of his maſter, he reſolved to rid himſelf of him, by a new crime. He demanded in full council, what puniſhment thoſe perſons deſerved, who had attempted the protector's life? Haſtings replied, that they ought to ſuffer as traitors. "*Theſe traitors*," ſaid he, "*are that ſorcereſs the queen, my brother's widow; Jane Shore, his miſtreſs; and their accomplices. Behold to what a ſtate they have reduced me by their witchcraft.*" At the ſame time he bared his arm, which was withered. No perſon was ignorant that this misfortune had attended him from infancy. "*Certainly*," ſaid Haſtings, "*they cannot be too ſeverely puniſhed, if they are guilty of this crime.*" "*What!*" cried the protector, "*do you reply to me by* ifs *and* buts? *You are the chief abettor of this crime: you are a traitor, and I ſwear by St. Paul, I will not dine before you head is brought me.*"

Death of Haſtings.

As he ended theſe words, he ſtruck on the table: his miniſters of vengeance entered; they ſeized Haſtings, dragged him out of the council, and beheaded him. Two hours after, the protector

protector publiſhed, in London, a ſtudied proclamation, wrote at leiſure, containing a detail of the pretended crimes of Haſtings, aſſerted to be juſt then diſcovered. The impoſture ſtruck every eye, and ſome perſon obſerved that this proclamation was made by the ſpirit of propheſy. Jane Shore was afterwards examined on her ſorceries; for the protector cared little for the abſurdity of his proceedings, provided he arrived at the end propoſed. Notwithſtanding the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the age, they could find no proofs againſt her. The council not being able to condemn her as a ſorcereſs, an eccleſiaſtical tribunal condemned her to do penance as an adultereſs. This woman, ſeduced by Edward, rendered herſelf eſtimable by her humanity and beneficence. When wretched, ſhe no longer found friends, but ended her days in all the miſeries of want.

Infamous practices of Gloſter.

Gloſter at length took off the maſk, and openly aſpired to the crown. The ſteps he took were worthy of the end at which they aimed. After having ſpread doubts as to the legality of Edward's marriage, he employed a means ſtill

more becoming his character. This was, to repreſent the late king and the duke of Clarence as baſtards, whatever infamy it threw on his mother, who was ſtill living. A preacher ſerved as the vehicle to this wickedneſs. One doctor Shaw, having taken for his text this paſſage, *Baſtard ſlips ſhall not thrive*, decried the birth of the protector's two brothers, elevated this prince to the clouds, and repreſented him as the true heir to the crown, and the hope of the nation. They expected acclamations of *God ſave king Richard*. The auditory remained ſilent. A ſcene ſo ſcandalous turned only to the ſhame of Gloſter and his panegyriſt. It was, however, neceſſary to draw from the people a kind of conſent to the projected revolution. The mayor of London, brother to Shaw, aſſembled the citizens: Buckingham harangued them on the ſame ſubject. But when he demanded, whether they would have the illuſtrious duke of Gloſter for their king, a profound ſilence ſufficiently diſcovered the ſentiments of the aſſembly. At length they ſucceeded in engaging ſome of the meaneſt mechanics to cry,

*God*

*God ſave king Richard.* This feeble acclamation was the voice of the people, the voice of God. Buckingham ran to tell the duke, the nation had proclaimed him. Gloſter, in preſence of the multitude, affected an inviolable fidelity to his ſovereign, and even exhorted the people to follow his example. He was told, they would have no king but him. He accepted the crown. Edward the fifth and the duke of York were ſoon after aſſaſſinated in the Tower. Their death put the laſt hand to the uſurpation of the tyrant.

Murder of Edward the fifth.

Thus the duke of Gloſter began, under the name of Richard the third, a reign which ſo many atrocious crimes rendered execrable. He had promiſed the duke of Buckingham rewards proportioned to his ſervices; but, whatever intereſt he had to keep well with him, he failed of his word; either from the fear of rendering him too powerful, or by the ingratitude ſo common to wicked men. As ſoon as Buckingham thought himſelf offended, he began to meditate a revolution. Richard could not fail of appearing a monſter in the eyes of the Engliſh.

Richard the third.

His arts of perfidy, his murders, his uſurpation, were too black to eſcape the public horror. The faction of Lancaſter reſumed its animoſity and its hopes. The biſhop of Ely, who had been by Richard intruſted to the care of Buckingham, perſuaded him to throw his eyes on Henry earl of Richmond, heir by the female line to the houſe of Somerſet, and grandſon to Owen Tudor, a private gentleman, who had married Catharine of France, widow of Henry the fifth. Richmond had retired into Britany, in the reign of Edward the fourth, who regarded him as a dangerous adverſary. To fix wirh greater facility all ſuffrages in his favor, the duke and the biſhop thought it a wiſe meaſure to unite in his perſon the rights of both houſes, by marrying him to the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to Edward. The queen dowager adopted this plan, in hopes of bettering her ſituation. Richmond engaged to conclude the marriage as ſoon as he ſhould arrive in England.

Earl of Richmond.

A tyrant is always ſuſpicious. Richard diſcovered theſe intrigues, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence.

A conſpiracy.

fence. Buckingham raiſed troops in Wales. But, the continual heavy rains having hindered him from joining his confederates, the Welſh abandoned him, influenced equally by ſuperſtition and by famine. He concealed himſelf in the houſe of an old ſervant of his family, was diſcovered, arreſted, conducted to the king, and executed without any form of trial. The earl of Richmond, his fleet being driven back by a ſtorm, returned to the coaſt of Britany. Theſe events ſeemed to have fixed the crown on Richard's head. The parliament, which he at length aſſumed courage to ſummon, unable to reſiſt force, acknowledged his right. The queen dowager ſuffered herſelf to be ſeduced by his arts, and promiſed her daughter to the murderer of her three ſons; who was alſo ſuſpected of having procured the death of his firſt wife, by whom he deſpaired of having children. Whilſt they waited for a diſpenſation from Rome, the ſcene ſuddenly changed. Richmond, having obtained A. D. 1485. ſome ſuccours from Charles the eighth, king of France, ſailed from Harfleur with about two thouſand men, landed

on the Welſh coaſt, was joined by a great number of Engliſh, advanced towards Leiceſter, came up with Richard's army at Boſworth, gave him battle, and defeated him with the greater eaſe, as Stanley, who commanded a body of royaliſts, joined him during the action. Richard was killed, after having performed aſtoniſhing acts of valor; a prince the atrocity of whoſe crimes prevents his receiving the praiſe due to his great qualities. The houſe of Plantagenet ended in him: it had filled the throne of England three hundred and thirty years.

Death of Richard the third.

State of the nation.

Hiſtory becomes, from this period, more intereſting and more uſeful. The arts which poliſh a nation began to diffuſe themſelves. The Pandects of Juſtinian, diſcovered in Italy about the year 1130, had inſtructed Europe in the infinite ſuperiority of a wiſe legiſlation over the barbarous cuſtoms by which it had been governed. The people emerged from their ſervitude. Theſe *villains*, theſe *ſerfs of the glebe*, ſcarce numbered before amongſt men, were become the farmers of their lords, and reaped the fruits of labor and induſtry. Civil liberty roſe on the

the ruins of the feudal government; but political liberty, ſuch as is now known in England, exiſted then very imperfectly. We ſhall ſee it ſtrike root by degrees, unfold itſelf with difficulty, and produce new and extraordinary revolutions.

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## HENRY the Seventh.

THE earl of Richmond's right to the crown was far from being clear and uncontroverted. He was, by the female line, heir to the houſe of Somerſet, which deſcended from John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter: but this was only a legitimated branch, excluded the ſucceſſion to the crown by the very act of legitimation. Beſides this, his mother was ſtill living, and was one degree nearer the ſucceſſion. The rights of the houſe of York ſtill ſubſiſted. The marriage projected with Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the fourth, was the only means to remove all difficulties, by uniting the claims of theſe two rival families. Reſolving, however, not to hold his ſcepter from

A. D. 1485. The earl of Richmond acknowledged King.

the hands of a woman, or expoſe himſelf to loſe it if ſhe died without children, he determined to ſecure its poſſeſſion by other means, and to eſtabliſh a perſonal right. After the deciſive victory of Boſworth, his army had, with the loudeſt acclamations, proclaimed him king. The cry of *Long live Henry the ſeventh*, had echoed through the field of battle. Richard's crown had been placed on his head. He took from that time the title of king, as heir to the houſe of Lancaſter; and his jealouſy of that of York, a paſſion of which he was never cured, influenced him to cauſe the earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, to be ſhut up in the Tower. His entry into London was attended by every mark of that exulting joy, with which the hope of being delivered from the horrors of civil war, may be ſuppoſed to have actuated a people who had ſo long experienced its miſeries. He renewed his promiſe of eſpouſing the daughter of Edward, obſerving with what ardor this marriage was deſired by the nation. But his firſt care, after his coronation, was to procure a legal confirmation of his

title.

title. The parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, without explaining itſelf in reſpect to the title itſelf, declared the right of ſucceſſion to reſide in the perſon of Henry; and as he had been proſcribed by a bill of attainder, they further declared, that the crown effaced all attainders, all ſtains in blood, and rendered the fountain clear. Henry depended ſo little on the rights of his birth, that he applied to the pope for a confirmation of them, as if ſuch a queſtion ought to have been decided by a decree from Rome. Innocent the eighth eaſily granted him all he deſired, and threatened with excommunication whoever dared to diſturb him or his ſucceſſors in the poſſeſſion of the crown. The king, as much from animoſity as policy, engaged the parliament to attaint Richard the third, and the principal adherents of the houſe of York, to which he had the utmoſt abhorrence. This animoſity was not the paſſion of a great ſoul, nor this policy that of a ſuperior genius. He imprudently expoſed himſelf to the hatred of the people, to whom the late race of kings was dear. The princeſs Elizabeth, whom he at

Henry procures a confirmation of his title from the pope.

this time eſpouſed, a princeſs as amiable as ſhe was virtuous, experienced herſelf the influence of thoſe prejudices which he entertained againſt her family.

A. D. 1486 Lambert Simnel.

This unpopular conduct was ill calculated to ſecure him againſt inſurrections. Scarce had he ſuppreſſed a revolt in the northern provinces, when a ſecond and more dangerous one was formed, the circumſtances of which, though ſingular and even in ſome degree romantic, carry notwithſtanding all the marks of hiſtorical truth. Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, of a ſubtle, factious, and daring character, brought on the ſcene a fantom of a prince, to diſpute the crown with Henry. The inſtrument of this impoſture was a youth of fifteen, named Lambert Simnel, the ſon of a baker, but endowed with all the qualities requiſite to act with ſucceſs the part aſſigned him, however difficult. A rumor having been ſpread amongſt the people, that Richard duke of York, youngeſt ſon to Edward the fourth, had eſcaped from his murderers, the ſeditious prieſt at firſt inſtructed his pupil to perſonate

perſonate that prince. A ſecond rumor influenced him to change his plan. A ſtory prevailed, that the earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, had made his eſcape from the Tower; a report very pleaſing to the people, who had the ſtrongeſt affection for the houſe of York. The crafty prieſt took advantage of this circumſtance, and converted Simnel into another Warwick. There is reaſon to believe ſome perſons of high rank had entered into the deſign, as the young man ſpoke of all the tranſactions of the court in the ſame manner as if he had paſſed his life there. The queen dowager, diſcontented with the king, and enraged at ſeeing herſelf without power or credit, if we may believe the ſuſpicions entertained at that time, favored this extraordinary enterprize.

Simnel crowned in Ireland.

The impoſtor could have little hopes of ſucceſs except in Ireland, where he was leſs liable to detection than in England, and where the houſe of York had a much greater number of partizans. Simnel was received there as the true Plantagenet. The earl of Kildare, the deputy, declared

in his favor, and he was crowned in Dublin without the leaſt oppoſition. Henry, informed of this event, took inſtantly the meaſures his ſafety rendered neceſſary. He confined the queen dowager in a monaſtery, under pretence that, after ſhe had promiſed him her daughter in marriage, ſhe had put her into the hands of Richard: an error which he ought long before to have forgot. He brought the earl of Warwick out of the Tower, and expoſed him to the eyes of the public; but the Iriſh, infatuated by prejudice, retorted on him the charge of impoſture. He at length prepared to ſubdue the rebels by arms. Their party was formidable. The earl of Lincoln, ſon to the duke of Suffolk and a ſiſter of Edward the fourth, formed a conſpiracy, and entertained views on the crown. He had retired to Margaret of York, widow to the laſt duke of Burgundy; a powerful princeſs, ſtrongly attached to her family, and from this motive extremely exaſperated againſt
A. D. 1487. Henry. She ſent into Ireland a body of two thouſand veterans, under the command of a brave officer called Swart.

Swart. Lincoln and lord Lovel embarked with this reinforcement. Simnel, at the head of theſe troops, and a party of Iriſh, attempted an invaſion. The Engliſh were too clearly convinced of the impoſture, to give him any aſſiſtance. Henry was eager to fight; Lincoln ſaw the neceſſity of a battle. The two armies engaged at Stoke, in Nottinghamſhire. The rebels were defeated, after a vigorous reſiſtance: Lincoln, Lovel, and Swart, periſhed in the battle: Simnel, and the prieſt, remained priſoners. The latter, in conſideration of his function, was impriſoned, inſtead of being put death. The former, as too contemptible to excite either jealouſy or reſentment, was pardoned. His royalty deſcended to an employment becoming his birth. He was made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen: and at length promoted to the rank of falconer. Such was the winding up of a comedy, which, as ridiculous as it appears, had been the cauſe of much bloodſhed.

A. D. 1488. Affairs of Britany.

Henry the ſeventh, firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, reſpected by his ſubjects, and eſteemed by his neighbors, turned his attention on the general affairs

fairs of Europe. Thoſe of Britany more particularly intereſted England. The Bretons had revolted againſt Francis the ſecond, their laſt duke, who was governed by a favorite of the loweſt birth. The diſturbances in this province gave the court of France an opportunity of uniting it to the crown. The duke of Orleans (afterwards Lewis the twelfth) having quarrelled with Madame de Beaujeu, dutcheſs of Bourbon, ſiſter to Charles the eighth, and regent of the kingdom, retired to the duke of Britany; and his influence at that court irritated ſtill more the diſcontent of the nobles. They addreſſed themſelves to the king of France. Under color of delivering Britany from oppreſſion, the French entered that dutchy with the deſign of conquering it. The ambaſſadors of France labored to perſuade the king of England that ambition had no ſhare in this enterprize. Though too politic to give into the ſnare, he conſented to a neutrality; either becauſe he regarded the conqueſt as impoſſible, or that his œconomy, or rather his avarice, gave him an averſion to enter into any foreign war.

war. An army of ſixty thouſand Bretons obliged the French to raiſe the ſiege of Nantes; but they were defeated at the battle of St. Aubin, and the duke of Orleans fell into the hands of the conquerors. A little while after, the death of the duke of Britany, who left only a daughter, heireſs to his dominions, expoſed the province to an intire revolution. Henry now ſent thither ſix thouſand men, a weak reinforcement, which ſerved only to diſtreſs them more. The marriage of princeſs Anne, the late duke's heireſs, muſt neceſſarily decide the fate of Britany. Maximilian, king of the Romans, had already eſpouſed her by proxy, as Charles the eighth had Maximilian's daughter. Neither of their marrages having been conſummated, the intereſt of the court of France diſſolved them. They perſuaded the Bretons, that the tranquillity of their ſtate could never be reſtored except by reuniting it to the monarchy. Their dutcheſs, notwithſtanding her ſcruples and her repugnance to this marriage, ſacrificed her firſt engagements to the good of her people. The daughter of Maximilian

Britany united to France.

A. D. 1491.

was ſent back from Paris, where ſhe had been educated, and had borne the title of queen. Charles, by eſpouſing Anne of Britany, had taken from this prince a ſtate which, joined to Flanders, would have rendered him very formidable to France. The firſt marriage of Maximilian with the heireſs of Burgundy had carried the ſovereignty of the Low Countries into the houſe of Auſtria. This was the epocha of the power of that houſe, and the origin of the moſt obſtinate wars.

War with France.

Whilſt the German monarch, tranſported with rage, menaced Charles the eighth, from whom he had received this injury, the Engliſh prince had ſufficient reaſon to reproach himſelf with the ſupineneſs of his conduct. The more advantageous the reunion of Britany was to France, the more he was intereſted to oppoſe it with vigor. As he piqued himſelf on his profound policy, the vexation of having been duped, at firſt excited him to vengeance. A war with France always flattered the bent of the nation. Henry levied an impoſt, which, under the name of *benevolence*, was as little voluntary as any other tax. He at length

length assembled the parliament, harangued them himself, recalled to their remembrance the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt; insinuating that he had projected expeditions equally glorious. He obtained by this means a considerable subsidy, the principal object of his wishes. Though he had no inclination to this war, and though he knew that Maximilian had neither money nor troops to second him, yet he affected all the ardor of a conqueror. The English prepared themselves for triumphs. Several sold their estates, to appear with more lustre in the camp. The king at length embarked, and arrived at Calais the sixth of October. "*It is of little consequence that the season is so far advanced*, said Henry; *one summer will not be sufficieut to finish the conquest of France.*" He already negotiated secretly a treaty of peace. In order to cover his designs, at the very time when he was besieging Boulogne, he caused several persons of distinguished rank to entreat him to come to an accommodation with Charles, on pretence that the allies gave him no assistance, and that the army would find

A. D. 1492.

find great difficulty in ſubſiſting during the winter. The conditions were ſoon ſettled. Henry's heart was fixed on money alone: Charles ſighed only after the conqueſt of Naples, and willingly engaged to pay him ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns, beſides a penſion of twenty-five thouſand crowns to himſelf and his heirs. Thus, as Bacon obſerves, war and peace equally filled his coffers: the firſt with the money of his ſubjects, the laſt with that of his enemies.

Perkin Warbeck.

The dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy at this time prepared new batteries againſt him. Little ſcrupulous as to the means of ſatisfying her implacable hatred, ſhe did not bluſh to ſubſtitute to Simnel a new impoſtor, more capable to give the king diſturbance. This was a young Flemiſh Jew, whoſe father had been converted, and who was born in London, where Edward the fourth, ſuſpected of an intrigue with his mother, had been his godfather. He was called Perkin, a corruption of his name, Peter. His noble figure, his attractive manners, his refined genius, the addreſs and experience which he had acquired in his travels,

travels, fitted him perfectly for the part which was aſſigned him. The dutcheſs inſtructed him how to counterfeit the young duke of York, her nephew, aſſaſſinated by order of Richard the third. She ſpread anew the rumor of his eſcape, which was received with avidity by the Engliſh. Perkin appeared firſt in Ireland, under the name of Richard Plantagenet; and the credulous people made no ſcruple to acknowledge him. Charles the eighth, then at war with Henry, invited the new prince into France, received him there as the true duke of York, and gave ſome reputation to a fiction which the love of the marvellous had made the multitude eagerly adopt. In his negotiation with the king of England, he refuſed to deliver up to him this object of his jealouſy. Perkin, A. D. 1493. compelled to leave France, went to implore the protection of the dutcheſs of Burgundy. This princeſs, after many affected doubts, and all the appearance of a ſcrupulous examination, embraced him with tranſports of tenderneſs, congratulating herſelf on having found again a nephew, the heir of the Plantagenets, the lawful ſucceſſor of

of Edward. She gave him a guard, and a magnificent train. Several Engliſh of diſtinction came to pay their court to him, and to offer him their ſervices. The lord chamberlain himſelf, Sir William Stanley, who had contributed more than any other perſon to place Henry on the throne, formed deſigns in favor of his antagoniſt. The nation fluctuated in uncertainty; the king felt the danger which threatened him, and employed all his prudence in guarding againſt it.

The king diſcovers the impoſture.

To aſcertain clearly the death of the duke of York, would have been the moſt effectual method of detecting the impoſture. But of the five perſons who had been concerned in the murder, there remained only two, whoſe evidence could not have much weight. Henry, by means of his ſpies, ſucceeded in unveiling this myſtery. He went back even to the birth of Perkin, diſcovered his adventures, purſued all the traces of the conſpiracy, and diſcovered the whole ſecret of the conſpirators: in order to remove all ſuſpicion, and lull his enemies into ſecurity, he cauſed ſome of

of his ſpies to be excommunicated as their accomplices, making religion the inſtrument of his policy. Clifford, one of the principal ſupports of the impoſtor, ſuffered himſelf to be gained, and contributed greatly to thoſe diſcoveries. The hiſtory of Perkin, with the detail of his actions, was publiſhed all over the kingdom. Several of the conſpirators were arreſted, whoſe execution ſtruck the reſt with terror. The rank and paſt ſervices of Stanley, were obſtacles to his puniſhment. So illuſtrious a life could not be taken without exciting murmurs. Henry made Clifford the creature of his revenge. This lord came over and threw himſelf at his feet in the council chamber, confeſſed his crime, and offered all the ſatisfaction he could aſk. The king having demanded of him the names of his accomplices, he mentioned Stanley, who was preſent, and accuſed him of being at the head of the conſpiracy. Henry affected not to believe it. Clifford perſiſting, Stanley was impriſoned. He confeſſed the fact, and periſhed on a ſcaffold.

This

A. D. 1495. This evident proof of the impoſture, and the ſevere juſtice of the monarch, left Perkin no reſource but in deſpair. He appeared on the coaſt of Kent with ſix hundred men; but, far from finding the inhabitants diſpoſed to favor his attempt, his troops were repulſed by the country people. Of an hundred and fifty priſoners, not one eſcaped the hands of the executioner.

Parliament. Famous ſtatute. Henry this year ſummoned a parliament, where that celebrated ſtatute was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be ſubject to an attainder for having aſſiſted the reigning king; a law extremely favorable to uſurpers, in caſes where the uſurpation is very clear; yet neceſſary in order to the maintenance of public tranquillity, when there are doubts as to the right of ſucceſſion. Henry, who had obſerved a different conduct in reſpect to the adherents of the houſe of York, undoubtedly apprehended his example might be one day imitated. The ſame parliament empowered him to raiſe the ſums promiſed under the name of *benevolence*. This was to authorize this ſpecies of tax, againſt which they exerted themſelves with ſuch

ſuch heat in the ſequel. The rapid and fruitleſs conqueſt of Naples by Charles the eighth, influenced Henry to enter into the league formed againſt him; but he attempted nothing in conſequence of theſe engagements.

The king of France, irritated by this ſtep, recommended Perkin to the king of Scotland, James the fourth, whoſe inclinations were not very favorable to England. This young prince ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the impoſtor, and gave him one of his [*n*] relations in marriage. A Scots army ravaged the frontiers. Perkin publiſhed a manifeſto, in which Henry was repreſented as a tyrant. The king, always eager to draw money from his ſubjects, perſuaded them to grant him a ſubſidy of an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, with two fifteenths. Avarice rather than neceſſity was the ſource of this demand. The people, often diſguſted by neceſſary impoſts, could not patiently ſuffer thoſe of which they knew the inutility. The king, ſeeking only to

[*n*] Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley.

increaſe

increaſe his immenſe treaſure, furniſhed a pretext for rebellion. The inhabitants of Cornwall took arms. They were led by a lawyer and a mechanic, to whom was ſoon after joined lord Audley, whoſe birth and fiery ambition, rendered him capable of carrying this enterprize to the greateſt lengths. The rebels advanced, even to London [o]. Henry, after taking the wiſeſt precautions, attacked, and diſperſed them; and ſent back the priſoners with an indulgence which his character did not promiſe. He marched ſoon after againſt the king of Scotland, and made him propoſals which were rejected. They only concluded a truce of ſome months.

A. D. 1497.

James had refuſed to betray Perkin; but he intreated him to ſeek ſome other retreat. Flanders could no longer ſerve him for an aſylum; becauſe the Flemings, who had ſuffered conſiderably by the interruption of their commerce with England, had entered into a treaty with Henry. He concealed himſelf ſome time in Ireland. From thence he paſſed into Cornwall,

[o] They were encamped near Eltham in Kent.

where the fire of ſedition was not quite extinct. The king, who, as he often ſaid, "wiſhed no more than to ſee his oppoſers," expreſſed a lively joy at hearing of his arrival, and haſtened to prevent his progreſs. His preſence diſarmed the rebels. Perkin took refuge in a church. His wife was made priſoner, and treated with the utmoſt diſtinction. He ſurrendered himſelf into the hands of Henry, who promiſed him his pardon. They led him through the ſtreets of London, expoſed to the inſults of the populace; obliged him to repeat a confeſſion of his adventures, and ſhut him up in priſon. Having made his eſcape, he was retaken, and ſent to the Tower. A genius bold and enterprizing like his, after having acted ſo conſpicuous a part, could not accuſtom itſelf to misfortune. He carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the earl of Warwick, alſo a priſoner in the Tower. They agreed to attempt an eſcape, after having killed the lieutenant. Their deſign having been diſcovered, Perkin, now unworthy of pardon, ſubmitted to the puniſhment he merited. Henry took this occaſion to rid him-

A. D. 1499. Execution of Warwick.

ſelf of Warwick. Accuſed of having intended to diſturb the ſtate, and foment an inſurrection amongſt the people, this unhappy prince, the ſole remains of the Plantagenets, was condemned to death, and executed. The king pretended, in order to varniſh over this act of tyranny, that Ferdinand king of Arragon, whoſe daughter he wiſhed the prince of Wales to eſpouſe, refuſed to conſent to the marriage whilſt there remained any prince of the houſe of York: as if ſuch a victim ought to have been immolated to intereſt. Arthur ſome time after eſpouſed Catharine of Arragon, and died in ſix months, without having, as is ſaid, conſummated the marriage. The new prince of Wales [afterwards Henry the eighth], then only twelve years of age, was compelled to marry the widow of his brother. Henry reſolved on this marriage, and obtained the pope's diſpenſation: an event which had in the end very fatal conſequences. The king gave, at the ſame time, his eldeſt daughter to James the fourth. His council repreſented to him, that this might be the means of one day ſubjecting

Marriage of the prince of Wales with Catharine of Arragon.

jecting England to the crown of Scotland. "It will rather," replied he, "ſerve to unite Scotland to England." We ſhall ſee the accompliſhment of this prediction in the ſequel.

All now ſucceeded to his wiſhes. Europe admired his policy; Ferdinand, maſter of all Spain, from whence he had driven the Moors, was united to him by intereſt; the archduke Philip, ſon-in-law to Ferdinand, paid court to him; pope Alexander the ſixth cultivated his friendſhip; Lewis the twelfth exhauſted in the wars of Italy the ſtrength of France. Henry, having no longer any enemy to fear, gave a full career to his governing paſſion. Unjuſt and cruel from avarice, he vexed, he oppreſſed, his ſubjects. Two of his miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, acting up to his ſentiments, became the ſcourges of the nation. Arbitrary decrees, fines, pecuniary compoſitions, taxes equally odious and unneceſſary, increaſed the king's treaſures to ſuch a degree, as to raiſe them to two millions ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. A rigid œconomy augmented them from day to day; and the farther Henry ad-

A. D. 1503. Avarice and oppreſſions of Henry.

vanced in years, the more he was devoured by this ardent thirſt of riches, which never finds admittance into great ſouls. His activity, his vigor, his prudence, his love for peace, his courage in war, have not been able to efface the ſtain which ſo ſhameful a paſſion has left on his memory. At the approach of death, he thought to expiate his acts of injuſtice, by alms and charitable foundations; more calculated to deceive the conſcience, and lull it into a falſe ſecurity, than to ſatisfy the Sovereign Judge. He expired in the fifty-ſecond year of his age.

A. D. 1509. Death of Henry the ſeventh.

No king, ſince the Great Charter had been granted, had carried the regal authority in England ſo high as Henry the ſeventh. He purſued conſtantly the ſyſtem of abaſing the nobles, and keeping them in the ſtricteſt ſubjection. His miniſters were biſhops, and men of the robe, who, holding their employments and fortunes from him, were the ſervile ſlaves of his will. By his firmneſs and conſtancy, he ſucceeded in preventing the lords from entertaining that crowd of dependants, who engaged in their ſervice, wore their livery, and were

the inſtruments of their violences and their revolts [p]. By granting to his nobility the power of alienating their lands, and breaking the ancient entails, Henry enabled the commons to augment their property, and diminiſhed inſenſibly that of the barons, whom the taſte for luxury engaged in new and unuſual expences. The arts, commerce, and induſtry, made every day greater progreſs. They were, notwithſtanding, ignorant of thoſe political principles which multiply ſo greatly the advantages attending them. All lending on intereſt, the profits of

[p] They tell a remarkable ſtory on this ſubject. The earl of Oxford, the general and favorite of Henry the ſeventh, expecting to receive a viſit from him one day at his caſtle, aſſembled all his clients, in order to render this reception more magnificent. The king, on going away, found them ranged in two lines. He expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at ſeeing this multitude of men in the earl's ſervice. He confeſſed, the greater part were not actually his domeſtics, but only appeared in his train on great occaſions. "In truth, my lord," ſaid Henry, "I thank you for your good cheer; but I cannot ſuffer my laws to be infringed before my eyes: my attorney general muſt talk with you." Oxford did not, it is ſaid, get off for leſs than fifteen thouſand marks.

exchange, the exportation of coin, and of bullion, were ſeverely prohibited under this reign: the price of wool, of hats, of the wages of labour, &c. were fixed; all perſons having leſs than twenty ſhillings a year in land were forbid to put their children apprentice; encloſures were alſo prohibited. Theſe were ſo many ſhackles on induſtry and commerce. Such laws are either never executed, or produce more ill effects than good. Experience has evinced their bad tendency. Henry made very wiſe laws for the adminiſtration of juſtice, for the puniſhment of murderers, and to ſubject eccleſiaſtical criminals to capital penalties. It is apparently on this account he has been by ſome ſurnamed the Engliſh Solomon; a glorious title, which, however, the conduct of this prince extremely contradicted.

Navigation. Revival of learning.

The diſcovery of the new world by Chriſtopher Columbus in 1492; the ſhorter paſſage to the Eaſt Indies found by the Portugueſe by the Cape of Good Hope; the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks in 1453, followed by the revival of learning in Europe; the invention of printing, that

that art of ſpreading every where knowledge, and ſometimes error; the perfecting of artillery, by which the whole art of war was changed, were memorable events, which promiſed great revolutions. The arts poliſhed manners, letters enlightened the mind, commerce enriched the people, navigation facilitated conqueſts. From thence, thoſe new inclinations, new ideas, new principles, new ſyſtems, of which the effects, ſometimes advantageous, ſometimes fatal, render hiſtory from this period ſo intereſting. It is by ſlow degrees that reaſon diſſipates prejudices and reforms abuſes. It is by violent ſhocks that ſtates arrive at a ſolid eſtabliſhment and a wiſe legiſlation.

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## HENRY the Eighth.

ENGLAND, diſcontented with the harſh government of Henry the ſeventh, was ſo much the more charmed to ſee his ſon mount the throne, as this young prince, then only ſixteen years old, prejudiced all hearts

A. D. 1509. Happy beginnings of this reign.

in his favor, by the beauty of his figure, by his underſtanding, by his affable manners, by the frankneſs and vivacity of his character. His ſubjects did not then foreſee that the violence of his paſſions would in the end render him a tyrant. His firſt meaſures anſwered the hopes of the nation. He choſe for his miniſters thoſe who had moſt faithfully ſerved his father. Empſon and Dudley were ſacrificed to the public hatred. As their oppreſſions could only be imputed to the commands of the prince, and the abuſe of the prerogative, they were charged with rebellious deſigns; and, in condemning them, leſs regard was had to the ſtrict rules of juſtice than to the deſire of ſatisfying the people. The king at length conſummated his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, a mild and virtuous princeſs; whoſe portion, as well as her dowry [q], was very conſiderable; and whom it would have been dangerous to ſend back, as the alliance with Spain depended on this marriage. Henry loved feſtivity and pleaſures.

[q] As princeſs dowager of Wales.

His

His expence was proportioned to the treaſures which an avaricious father had left him. Muſic and literature were his firſt delights. Nothing ſeemed to threaten tyranny: all preſaged a peaceful and glorious reign. Time and conjunctures unveil the characters of mankind.

A. D. 1510. League of Cambray. Julius the ſecond.

The wars of Italy now fixed the attention of all Europe. Lewis the twelfth, after having conquered the Milaneze, had entered into an alliance with Ferdinand king of Spain, to conquer the kingdom of Naples; and had been deprived of all the fruits of his conqueſt by this crafty and ambitious prince, in whom the ſurname of Catholic maſked the darkeſt perfidies. The league of Cambray excited new diſturbances. Julius the ſecond, a warlike pope, was the principal author of it. Forgetting the care of ſouls, to increaſe the dominions of the ſee of Rome, he formed a confederacy againſt the republic of Venice, with the emperor Maximilian, and the kings of France and Spain. The French valor ſoon reduced the Venetians to the laſt extremities. But when the pope had got poſſeſſion of

the territories he wiſhed to acquire he caballed againſt Lewis the twelfth, attacked his ally the duke of Ferrara, and ſollicited the Swiſs, Ferdinand, and Henry the eighth, to take part in this invidious war. Lewis, who could no longer regard the pope, but as his mortal enemy, attempted to reduce him by arms, and to get him depoſed by the council of Piſa. No danger intimidated the pontiff. He fulminated anathemas againſt the biſhops aſſembled at Piſa, and took Mirandola in perſon, after having ſignalized his courage perſonally in the operations of the ſiege; he engaged the king of England to attempt an invaſion in France, making him hope for the title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, which the kings of France had enjoyed from Lewis the eleventh. The glory of ſerving the pope, and of conquering the provinces once annexed to his crown, excited the ambition of the young king. The parliament willingly granted him ſubſidies for an enterprize ſo agreable to the nation.

A. D. 1512. War with France.

Ferdinand, wholly abſorbed by his private intereſts, even when he ſeemed to combat for thoſe of others, perſuaded

ſuaded Henry to ſend his troops, not to Calais, as had been the cuſtom, but to Fontarabia, where they would be at hand to ſeize on Guyenne, with the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards. His deſign was, to employ them in the conqueſt of Navarre, which he intended for himſelf. Julius the ſecond had excommunicated John D'Albret, king of Navarre, as an adherent to the council of Piſa; and the ſpoils of an excommunicated prince ſeemed worthy of Ferdinand the catholic. The Engliſh were no ſooner arrived, under the command of the marquis of Dorſet, than he propoſed this expedition to the general, as the moſt certain means of conquering Guyenne. Dorſet penetrated the views of this monarch, and refuſed to attack a ſtate againſt which he had no orders to make war. His reſidence at Fontarabia was ſcarce leſs uſeful to the Spaniards than his aſſiſtance would have been. The French were afraid of having ſuperior forces to encounter; and Navarre, deprived of their ſuccour, fell into the hands of Ferdinand. Dorſet returned ſoon after to England, without having been able to attempt any thing.

Though this war produced no advantage to the Engliſh, it was extremely deſtructive to the king of France. Obliged to recall his troops for the defence of his kingdom, Lewis loſt all his conqueſts in Italy. Julius the ſecond triumphed in his misfortunes. Leo the tenth, ſucceſſor to Julius, animated the king of England ſtill more againſt him. The pontifical authority was ſo reſpected, that a veſſel which he ſent, with wine and hams for the court, was, it is ſaid, received with a ſort of enthuſiaſm, and ſerved to enflame the courage of the nation. A parliamentary ſubſidy facilitated the preparations. The celebrated Thomas Wolſey, now all-powerful, ſerved with ardor the inclinations of the monarch. This miniſter, who became one of the principal characters of that age, was the ſon of a butcher, but diſtinguiſhed by his genius, his talents, and learning. A private eccleſiaſtic, he had found acceſs to the court of Henry the ſeventh, had been employed, and had ſucceſsfully acquitted himſelf of ſome commiſſions of a very delicate nature. Fortune elevated him with rapidity under

A. D. 1513.

Wolſey.

under Henry the eighth. The earl of Surrey, who ſhared the miniſterial authority with the biſhop of Wincheſter, jealous of this prelate, thought he ſhould leſſen his credit by introducing Wolſey to the good graces of the king. The new courtier ſoon captivated his maſter's affections. Inſinuation, flattery, a taſte for pleaſure, and even the love of letters, rendered him ſo agreable to Henry, that all favor ſoon centered in him. Seeing the career open to his ardent ambition, he perſuaded the young king to diſmiſs the ancient miniſters, and to truſt his affairs to a man who was his own choice, and who could at once inſtruct and amuſe him. This was to deſcribe himſelf. Being at firſt only admitted of the council, he ſuddenly roſe to the rank of firſt miniſter. An inſatiable rapacity, an exceſſive haughtineſs, an inſolent oſtentation, made him more enemies than his addreſs, generoſity, and policy, friends.

France attacked.

As Henry burned with the utmoſt ardor for war, Wolſey made that the principal object of his attention. An Engliſh fleet preſented itſelf before Breſt, and was obliged to retire. The French attempted a deſcent on the coaſt

coaſt of Suſſex, and did not ſucceed better. It was on the continent alone that important blows could be ſtruck. The Engliſh entered France by Calais. The Swiſs, enraged againſt Lewis the twelfth, who had had the imprudence to offend them, engaged to invade Burgundy. The emperor Maximilian had promiſed to reinforce them with ſeven or eight thouſand men. Though he had already received an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, he failed of his word; and, in order to exculpate himſelf, joined Henry with a ſmall number of troops, entered himſelf as his ſoldier, and did not bluſh to receive from him a daily pay of an hundred crowns. It was not till the time of his ſucceſſors, that the Auſtrian power and pride began to blaze forth. Terouane, a city on the frontiers of Picardy, was inveſted by the Engliſh. A body of eight hundred horſe traverſed their camp, carried proviſions to the beſieged, and retired almoſt without loſs. The Engliſh revenged this affront at the battle of Guinegate. The French cavalry, ſo famous for their courage and military exploits, ſeized with a panic terror, fled with the

Battle of Guinegate.

the moſt ſhameful cowardice; and this battle was denominated the *battle of the ſpurs*, becauſe they were more uſed than arms. Henry the eighth, inſtead of making a wiſe advantage of this victory, and penetrating into the interior parts of the kingdom, returned to finiſh the ſiege of Terouane, and at length took Tournay, the conqueſt of which could not poſſibly be uſeful to him. The Swiſs, on the point of taking Dijon, entered into a negotiation with La Tremouille, governor of the province, who promiſed them whatever they demanded, expecting the agreement would be diſavowed by his court. Their departure accelerated that of Henry. Thus one of the moſt dangerous campaigns which France had ever known, procured to her enemies no real advantage, and only ſerved to make them ſee their own imprudence. The king of Scotland, James the fourth, declared for the French, and ravaged Northumberland, at the head of fifty thouſand bad troops, whoſe number did not render them formidable. The Engliſh monarch gave him battle at Flouden, where he was killed, with a great.

The Scots defeated.

great number of the principal nobles. Henry ſhewed moderation in his victory, and made peace with the queen [r] of Scotland, now declared regent.

A. D. 1514. Lewis puts an end to the war.

Lewis now labored to diſperſe the ſtorm which threatened him. After ſo many unfortunate wars, ſo much perfidy as he had experienced, this good king gave all his attention to the care of reſtoring tranquillity to his kingdom. He ſatisfied Leo the tenth, by deſerting the council of Piſa, now transferred to Lyons; and was freed from thoſe anathemas of which the conſequences were generally ſo fatal. He offered his daughter Renée to Ferdinand, for either of his grandſons, with the ceſſion of his rights on the Milaneze; and the emperor Maximilian, as well as the king of Spain, conſented willingly to a truce, which was ſo much to the advantage of their family. Henry the eighth was the more enraged at the conduct of his allies, as the prince of Spain, Charles of Auſtria, was to have eſpouſed his ſiſter

[r] Margaret, his ſiſter, who governed during the infancy of her ſon.

Mary.

Mary. To make them ſenſible of his indignation, he determined to ally himſelf with the king of France. He gave the princeſs to Lewis the twelfth, who ceded Tournay to him, and promiſed to pay him a million of crowns. They agreed by this treaty to aſſiſt each other mutually in caſe of war. Mary was only ſixteen years old; Lewis, fifty-three. His paſſion for a young and lovely queen coſt him his life. His weak and delicate ſtate of health ill agreed with the pleaſures and diſſipations in which this marriage engaged him. France loſt a king, juſtly entitled, *The father of his people*, whoſe governing paſſion was, the love of his ſubjects, and the deſire of rendering them happy. His widow eſpouſed privately Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Francis the firſt favored this marriage, fearing leſt Henry ſhould, by means of his ſiſter, contract ſome more uſeful alliance. He calmed the reſentment of this prince, who was irritated extremely againſt the married pair.

Treaty with France.

A. D. 1515.

England now enjoyed a tranquillity to which it had been little accuſtomed. Wolſey governed it with the more uncontrolled

Greatneſs of Wolſey.

controlled ſway, as, whilſt he affected to purſue only the king's will, he led him to enter into all his own views. He was in appearance only a companion of his pleaſures, but in reality a miniſter veſted with abſolute power. The nation ſaw him heap benefices on benefices, enjoying at the ſame time the archbiſhopric of York, and the biſhoprics of Durham and Wincheſter; and ſharing the revenues of ſeveral other ſees, which were filled by Italians, who did not reſide. To theſe immenſe poſſeſſions, he joined the dignity of cardinal. His houſehold, compoſed of eight hundred perſons, amongſt whom were many of the principal gentlemen of the kingdom, ſpoke a magnificence truly royal. Never had any eccleſiaſtic before him worn habits of gold and ſilk. The croſs of York was always carried before him, though in the dioceſe of Canterbury, in contempt of the primate's privileges. The latter reſigned the office of chancellor, which was immediately conferred on Wolſey. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had been ſo long miniſter, quitted the court, where he found himſelf of no

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conſequence: he recommended to the king, "not to ſuffer the ſervant to become greater than his maſter." "I know how," ſaid Henry, "to make all my ſubjects obey me." The cardinal encouraged the ſciences, and protected and enriched learned men. Their encomiums kept pace with his generoſity, whilſt the people were dazzled with his magnificence. Kings themſelves were ſoon obliged in ſome meaſure to pay court to him.

Francis the firſt, a prince of diſtinguiſhed valor, to whom nothing was wanting but a greater degree of political ſagacity to render him ſuperior to all the ſovereigns of Europe, having renewed the treaty into which Lewis the twelfth had entered with Henry, paſſed into Italy, whither he was drawn by the ardor of conqueſt; gained over the Swiſs the bloody battle of Marignan, and retook the Milaneze from Maximilian Sforza, who contented himſelf to live in France, on a penſion which Francis aſſigned him. The glory of this monarch excited the jealouſy of the king of England. Wolſey entered into his paſſion from a view of intereſt. He enjoyed the

the revenues of the biſhopric of Tournay, and with great diſpleaſure ſaw a titular biſhop of that ſee protected at the court of France. The leaſt reſentment of the miniſter was ſufficient to kindle a war. An Engliſh ambaſſador excited the emperor Maximilian to take arms; but this enterprize did not ſucceed. The Germans were driven from Italy. Henry and Wolſey ſeemed to loſe ſight of their object. The king of Spain, Charles the fifth, ſucceſſor to Ferdinand the catholic, his grandfather, born with ſuperior talents, which had been cultivated by an excellent education, appeared already, though very young, capable to give diſquiet to Francis the firſt, whoſe daughter, ſtill in the cradle, he had promiſed to eſpouſe; a marriage too diſtant and uncertain to be the baſis of a ſolid alliance. Francis, comprehending the ſuperior advantage of an alliance with England, endeavored to regain the affection of Wolſey. He flattered his pride, affected to conſult him on the moſt ſecret and important affairs, and perſuaded him that he regarded his counſels as oracles. Bonnivet, the French ambaſſador

Charles the fifth.

A. D. 1518.

ſador at the court of London, managed with ſo much addreſs the paſſions of this miniſter, that he engaged him to procure the reſtitution of Tournay. They agreed, that the princeſs Mary of England ſhould be betrothed to the dauphin, though both of them were then infants; that Tournay ſhould be conſidered as the dowry of that princeſs; that Francis ſhould pay ſix hundred thouſand crowns as a compenſation for the expence of the citadel, which had been lately conſtructed there; and that he ſhould give a penſion of twelve thouſand livres to the cardinal, who was on his ſide to give up the revenues of the biſhopric. Calais would perhaps have been ſold in the ſame manner, if the conſent of the nation could have been hoped for.

Tournay reſtored.

The deſires of Wolſey increaſed with his power. He did not think himſelf ſufficiently elevated, whilſt he ſaw any thing above him. Cardinal Campeggio, the pope's legate, came to ſollicit a tenth from the clergy of England, under the pretext of reſiſting the Turks, whoſe enterprizes became every day more formidable. As ſuch contri-

Wolſey legate.

contributions had ſo frequently been applied ſolely to the benefit of the court of Rome, the clergy refuſed their conſent. The legate having been recalled, his titles and powers were granted to the miniſter. His oſtentation and pretenſions were now carried higher than ever. The archbiſhop of Canterbury having written to him *Your loving brother*, he complained of it as an injury. The primate, informed of his complaint, ſaid coldly, "Know ye not that this man is drunk with too much proſperity?" Wolſey ſoon after eſtabliſhed an eccleſiaſtical court, the arbitrary authority of which extremely reſembled that of the inquiſition. This prelate, decried for the licentiouſneſs of his morals, erected himſelf into a rigid reformer, even of the laity; and, what is more extraordinary, he appointed as judge in his tribunal a man of a ſcandalous character [*s*], whom he had himſelf condemned for perjury. Deſpotiſm ever excites abhorrence, eſpecially when exerciſed by the ſpiritual power, the very eſſence of which

[*s*] John Allen.

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is charity and moderation. The public complaints reached the king; he expreſſed his diſpleaſure: Wolſey ſet bounds to his juriſdiction.

A new event almoſt inſtantaneouſly changed the face of Europe. The emperor Maximilian being dead, two illuſtrious competitors contended to ſucceed him; Francis the firſt, and Charles the fifth, rivals worthy to divide the ſuffrages; the firſt, by his generoſity, frankneſs, and valor; the ſecond, by his prudence and profound policy. The latter carried the election; and the imperial crown, joined to that of Spain, to the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, to thoſe of Burgundy, and the conqueſts in the new world, ſeemed to raiſe him to the height of human grandeur. Though theſe two princes had ſhown, in their purſuits, emulation without enmity, yet the preference given to the one, could not fail of embittering the mind of the other. Henry the eighth, in the preſent advantageous ſituation of his fortune and kingdom, might have held the balance between them, if his policy had been equal to his power. But a ſovereign who is governed by his

A. D. 1519. Charles the fifth emperor.

his paſſions, can know but little the true intereſts of his crown. The king of France propoſed to him an interview at Calais. Whilſt he was preparing for his voyage, Charles the fifth arrived at Dover to viſit the king, inſinuated himſelf into Wolſey's affections by flattery and careſſes, and by giving him hopes of the tiara, the only object remaining to which his ambition could aſpire. Leo the tenth was young; this hope therefore appeared chimerical: Wolſey, notwithſtanding, embraced it with eagerneſs, and ſecretly attached himſelf to the emperor.

A. D. 1520. Interview of Henry the eighth, and Francis the firſt.

Charles was ſcarce gone, when the king paſſed the ſea with all his court. That of France arrived at the ſame time at Ardres. Both ſides diſplayed a magnificence hitherto unknown. The two kings gave mutually the ſtrongeſt proofs of confidence, viſited each other without guards or attendants, paſſed the time in feaſts and tournaments, where each diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his addreſs and dexterity: they ſeparated, however, without having tranſacted any thing of conſequence. Henry viſited the emperor

emperor at Gravelines. More artful and politic than his rival, Charles made him forget all he had promiſed to Francis, and even the intereſt which he had to maintain the balance between the two powers. Wolſey ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by new promiſes. The revenues of two biſhoprics in Spain [t] added ſtill more to his riches, already ſo exorbitant as almoſt to equal the treaſures of the crown.

Henry declares againſt France.

The world ſaw ſoon after the firſt ſparks of that fire which was to light up all Europe. The French monarch took poſſeſſion of Navarre, in order to re-eſtabliſh there the houſe of Albret. His troops penetrated even into Caſtile. The Caſtilians repulſed them, and Navarre was retaken. At this time, Robert De la Marck, duke of Bouillon, had the hardineſs to declare war againſt the emperor. Charles the fifth, not doubting it was at the inſtigation of the king of France, raiſed a powerful army, and began an open war. Henry declared his neutrality,

[t] Thoſe of Badajox and Palencia in Caſtile.

and offered his mediation. Conferences were opened at Calais. The emperor, who knew the partiality of the king of England, demanded Burgundy, and that Francis the firſt ſhould renounce the homage due to him for Flanders and Artois. Theſe propoſals having been rejected, as might have been expected, Wolſey concluded with the emperor and the pope an offenſive league againſt France. This formidable miniſter cauſed a proſecution to be commenced againſt the duke of Buckingham, the firſt nobleman in the kingdom, who had had the misfortune to diſpleaſe him. He was deſcended, by the female line, from the duke of Gloſter, ſon of Edward the third. Infatuated with the chimeras of aſtrology, and the counſels of a monkiſh viſionary, he flattered himſelf with the hope of one day ſucceeding to the crown: he had even meditated ſome deſign againſt the king. His crime, however, proceeded more from indiſcretion than from malice; and the execution of his ſentence was attributed to the cardinal's hatred.

Lutheraniſm.

During ſome years, the Lutheran controverſy had agitated all Europe. The

The part which the king of England took in it, and the revolutions it produced, render it an important object in the hiſtory of this country. Leo the tenth, who ought to be regarded as a great prince and a bad pope; the friend of learning, of talents, of pleaſures, of magnificence, but preferring temporal intereſts to thoſe of religion; after having exhauſted his treaſury, invented an expedient to fill it, too often employed to profane purpoſes. He publiſhed indulgences, under the pretext of war againſt the Turks, and the intended building of a church. Theſe indulgences were diſtributed in Germany for money in the moſt ſcandalous manner. The Dominicans were commiſſioned to preach them; and, according to cuſtom and the prejudices of the age, they had in their ſermons paſſed all the bounds of truth, and even of probability. The Auguſtins, jealous of the preference given their rivals, and enraged at having loſt an advantage which they regarded as an excluſive privilege, found an avenger in Martin Luther, a theologian of their order, of a genius ardent, impetuous, obſti-

Leo the tenth.

nate, inflexible, already prejudiced againſt the Romiſh church. Unhappily groſs ſuperſtitions, and the moſt infamous abuſes, introduced by ignorance or ſelf-intereſt, furniſhed matter for his violent invectives. The public worſhip was mixed with vain ceremonies, the ſcience of theology with falſe ſubtilties, the clergy were ſunk in lazineſs and diſorder, the court of Rome accuſed of uſurpation, of rapine, of a fraudulent policy; holy things were continually proſtituted to ſerve a ſordid avarice, or an unpardonable ambition. A reformation in the church, and in its members, was inceſſantly called for. Luther ſeized this conjuncture. The heat of theological diſpute carried him, like all paſſionate and enthuſiaſtical ſpirits, beyond the mark at which he had originally aimed. After having declaimed againſt the *traffic* of indulgences, he attacked indulgences themſelves, the power of the pope, and ſeveral doctrines of the church. His writings, full of bitterneſs and paſſion, which by the late invention of printing were ſpread all over Europe, made the more progreſs, as he found-

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ed moſt of his ſentiments on examples of antiquity, and paſſages of ſcripture, to which it was impoſſible to reply without a degree of learning then very uncommon. His doctrine flattered princes, by furniſhing them with a pretence for throwing off the yoke of Rome, and enriching themſelves with the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. It flattered the people, not only by falling in with their taſte for novelty and natural love of freedom, but by a rigor which gave them a chimerical idea of perfection, as ſeducing perhaps to ſelf-love as even the relaxation of morals. The elector of Saxony, and ſome other princes of the empire, embraced his party. England, where there remained many Lollards, who followed nearly the ſame opinions, would undoubtedly have declared in his favor, if Henry had teſtified the leaſt inclination to their doctrine. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that the religion of the prince became without difficulty that of his ſubjects. But, beſides that Henry was attached to the ancient religious principles, he perſonally hated Luther, who turned into ridicule the works of his

Henry writes againſt Luther.

favorite author Thomas Aquinas. Vanity and reſentment, rather than zeal, made him take up the pen againſt the German monk. He gained by this the title of *Defender of the faith*, which was conferred on him by Leo the tenth, and which the kings of England have ever ſince retained. Lutheraniſm did not, however, make the leſs progreſs; perſecution itſelf drew proſelytes, and changed the ſpirit of reformation into that of fanaticiſm. The conteſt was, who ſhould moſt indecently inſult the pope and the church. They laviſhed on them the names of Antichriſt and of Babylon; language worthy of thoſe furious theologians, who pretended to reform the world by kindling in it the flames of diſcord [*u*].

[*u*] Luther and his followers, not ſatisfied with oppoſing the pretended divinity of the Romiſh church, and diſplaying the temporal inconveniences of that eſtabliſhment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their anceſtors as abominable, deteſtable, damnable; foretold by ſacred writ itſelf as the ſum of all wickedneſs and pollution. They denominated the pope Antichriſt, called his communion the Scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expreſſions which, however applied, were to be found in ſcripture, and

Leo

Leo the tenth died young, in 1521. Charles the fifth procured his preceptor, Adrian the ſixth, to be elected, whoſe great age left ſtill to Wolſey the hope of ſatisfying his ambition. The emperor paſſed into England, calmed the cardinal's diſpleaſure by new promiſes, and renewed the treaty concluded with the king; and Henry, without any plauſible reaſon, declared war againſt France. Surry, the Engliſh admiral, landed at Calais, inveſted Heſdin, and afterwards raiſed the ſiege. Francis the firſt, rendered tranquil on that ſide, loſt the Milaneze and Genoa, for want of having timely ſent money to his general, Lautrec. The diſſipation of the finances was the principal ſource of his misfortunes. The following year, Henry ſent an army againſt the Scots, the ancient and faithful allies of France. The factions, which divided them, having reduced them to a ſtate which diſabled them from carrying on a war, they ſoon ceaſed to give Henry any diſturbance; and his whole attention

A. D. 1522. War with France.

which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the moſt ſolid arguments. HUME.

was turned towards the continent. As his father's treaſures had been a long time exhauſted, he had recourſe to arbitrary methods of raiſing money. The parliament did not dare to complain of this: but, inſtead of a ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which was demanded, the commons only granted half; and Wolſey coming to aſk the reaſon of this refuſal, they replied, that they were accountable only to themſelves. Henry, provoked with the parliament's reſiſtance, was ſeven years without convoking it. He ſupplied his occaſions by taxes which would have cauſed a rebellion under a prince whoſe anger had been leſs terrible.

A. D. 1523. Loſſes of Francis the firſt.

A new pope, Clement the ſeventh, having renewed the league made by his two predeceſſors with the empire and England, Francis the firſt ſaw himſelf menaced with an invaſion which might have been fatal. In this critical conjuncture, the conſtable of Bourbon, the moſt able of his generals, perſecuted by the hatred of the dutcheſs of Angoulême, the king's mother, ſacrificed to reſentment his duty

duty and the love of his country [w], and went into the emperor's ſervice. The Engliſh attacked Picardy, the Spaniards Guyenne, and a body of Lanſquenets Burgundy. But France made on every ſide a brave reſiſtance. Unfortunately for the kingdom, the army in Italy was commanded by Bonnivet, one of thoſe courtiers whom favor elevates to employments without regard to merit. He committed continual faults. The Swiſs, extremely vain of their exploits, abandoned him, becauſe they thought themſelves neglected; the conſtable of Bourbon defeated his rearguard at Rebec, and retook all the French conqueſts. The emperor and Henry made a new treaty, to divide between them a king-

[w] Charles, duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, was a prince of the moſt ſhining merit; and, beſides diſtinguiſhing himſelf in many military enterprizes, he was adorned with every accompliſhment which became a perſon of his high ſtation. His virtues, embelliſhed with the graces of youth, had made ſuch impreſſion on Louiſe of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, ſhe made him propoſals of marriage; meeting with a refuſal, ſhe formed ſchemes of unrelenting vengeance againſt him. HUME.

dom of which they flattered themſelves they ſhould ſoon be in poſſeſſion. They left to the duke of Bourbon, Provence and Dauphiny with the title of king. This great general failed in the ſiege of Marſeilles. The Imperialiſts were driven from Provence, after having loſt a great part of their troops; and Francis would have triumphed over all his enemies, if the fury of conquering the Milaneze had not again drawn him beyond the Alps.

A. D. 1525. Battle of Pavia.

Charles the fifth, with his immenſe poſſeſſions, had not money to pay his ſoldiers; in ſo imperfect a ſtate were induſtry and commerce all over Europe. The conſtable of Bourbon pawned his jewels to raiſe a body of twelve thouſand men, with which he attempted the relief of Pavia. Francis, as imprudent as he was brave, perſiſted obſtinately in beſieging this ſtrong place, in ſpite of the invincible obſtacles which he encountered. Attacked by the Imperialiſts, he loſt a deciſive battle, and, after the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valor, covered with blood and with wounds, was obliged to yield himſelf priſoner. The emperor

peror affected in the midſt of his triumph an hypocritical moderation, which his conduct ſoon contradicted. Whilſt he appeared to deſire peace, he rendered it impoſſible, by propoſing the moſt humiliating conditions.

Henry, already diſpleaſed with his proceedings, and jealous of his power, became ſtill more ſo when he experienced himſelf the effects of his pride. This great politician, who had always wrote to him with his own hand, who had always ſigned his letters *Your affectionate ſon and couſin*, now wrote to him by a ſecretary, and ſigned only, *Charles*. Leſs than this would have ſufficed to wound the monarch's ſelf-love. Wolſey alſo remembered, that the tiara had twice eſcaped him, notwithſtanding ſo many flattering promiſes as he had received. The reſentment, till now concealed, was only the more lively and more deeply rooted in his ſoul. This haughty miniſter ſought only an opportunity to break with the emperor, who on his ſide inflamed the evil, by complaining of England. The king at length concluded a treaty with the dutcheſs of Angoulême, regent during

Henry the eighth reconciled to France.

the captivity of Francis. He engaged to procure his enlargement on reaſonable conditions. A penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, beſides the acknowledgement of a debt of a million eight hundred thouſand, was the price of this treaty; and the cardinal received on his own account a conſiderable preſent [x].

This alliance preſaged a war with the emperor. The king made uſe of his prerogative to amaſs money. Taxes colored with the name of loans excited great murmurs. The illegal manner of levying theſe taxes offended the people more than the ſums to be raiſed. They regarded them, not as ſupplies neceſſary to the ſtate, but as violences exerciſed by deſpotiſm. The public complaints came to the king's ears. He declared, in order to calm them, that he would take nothing from his ſubjects but by the way of *benevolence*. A lawyer having obſerved, that this mode of taxation had been aboliſhed under Richard the third, the court replied, that Richard was an uſurper, that

[x] An hundred thouſand crowns.

his

his parliaments were factious aſſemblies, and that their decrees could not be obligatory to a lawful and *abſolute* prince. The judges even pretended, that the king might exact by commiſſions whatever ſums he pleaſed. Such a maxim in England predicted tyranny. It occaſioned ſeveral revolts. Henry had no better means to calm them, than to grant a general pardon. They clamored eſpecially againſt Wolſey, who oppreſſed the clergy by his legatine authority, as he did the people by the power he poſſeſſed as miniſter. He gave to the king a magnificent palace he had lately built [*y*]; but penetrating ſpirits eaſily diſcovered the motive of this pretended generoſity.

A. D. 1526. Francis the firſt delivered from priſon.

Francis the firſt had hitherto rejected all the propoſitions made him by his conqueror; chuſing rather, as he ſaid, to die in priſon than to conſent to diſmember his dominions. The rigors of a melancholy captivity at length ſhook the firmneſs of his ſoul. He promiſed to cede Burgundy as ſoon as he was free; and his two ſons were given as hoſtages for the

[*y*] Hampton Court.

per-

performance. This prince, though full of honor, did not not think himſelf obliged by a promiſe which had been drawn from him by violence, and which the ſtates of Burgundy loudly diſavowed. Charles the fifth ought to have foreſeen this; he ought either to have acted in a more generous manner, or to have profited more of the advantages fortune gave him. The artful policy of this prince failed in an affair ſo important. Scarce was Francis out of his hands, before he ſigned a league againſt him with the pope. Clement the ſeventh, the Venetians, and the other Italian princes, formed a confederacy, of which the king of England was declared the protector. The conſtable of Bourbon conquered, however, the Milaneze. He had been promiſed the inveſtiture. Not having money to pay his troops, he conducted them to Rome, and was killed whilſt ſcaling the walls. His death only inſpired his ſoldiers with redoubled fury. Rome, taken by aſſault, pillaged, ſacked, ſuffered incredible barbarities: and the emperor carried his hypocriſy to ſuch an exceſs, as to order public prayers

A. D. 1527. Sack of Rome.

prayers for the pope's deliverance, whilſt he had only occaſion to write one word in order to deliver him.

It was agreed between the kings of France and England to offer him two millions of crowns for the ranſom of the young princes his hoſtages; and to declare war in caſe of his refuſal. Irritated more than ever at the news of Clement's misfortune, they reſolved to carry their arms into Italy. Wolſey embarked for France, in order to have a conference with Francis. This monarch went in perſon to receive him at Amiens. They concluded a new treaty, by which Henry renounced his ancient chimerical pretenſions to the crown of France; and his ally engaged, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, to pay a penſion of fifty thouſand crowns to the kings of England. The two kings ſent an embaſſy to Charles the fifth. He replied with the moſt inſulting haughtineſs, accuſing his rival of having failed in his word [z]. Theſe great

A new treaty with France.

[z] Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his maſter with breach of faith. All men of princes

princes gave each other mutually the lie, and ſent each other challenges in conſequence. Though both brave, they contented themſelves with a defiance. But the practice of duelling began from this time to become common. They were ſtill authorized by the laws in certain extraordinary caſes: they were exerciſed by revenge on the moſt trifling occaſions; and the abſurdity of the point of honor was the ſovereign law of warriors.

Duels.

The time approached when the paſſions of Henry the eighth were to produce ſcenes equally fatal and uncommon. Catharine of Arragon, his wife, who was ſix years older than himſelf, had loſt his tenderneſs. A virtue ſoft and amiable had not ſufficed to captivate this heart, impetuous in all its deſires. From the beginning doubts

Divorce.

moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince, the more candid, generous, and ſincere, ſhould, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to that cruel ſituation, that nothing but the breach of his word could preſerve his people; and that he muſt ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with this infidelity, by a rival, inferior to him both in honor and in virtue. HUME.

had

had been raiſed in reſpect to their marriage, notwithſtanding the diſpenſation obtained from Julius the ſecond. Of ſeveral children, only the princeſs Mary remained to the king. The Levitical law threatens with ſterility the man who marries the widow of his brother. This menace ſtruck his imagination. He began to think himſelf under the very circumſtances of this malediction; and, according to the natural propenſion of the human heart, the more he wiſhed the divorce, the more he ſought to convince his conſcience of the illegitimacy of the marriage. Anne Boleyn, daughter to a gentleman of an ancient family, had charmed him by the beauty and graces of her perſon, and by an extraordinary and cultivated underſtanding. Love ſtrengthened his ſcruples. Not having been able to ſeduce his miſtreſs, whom virtue or ambition had rendered ſevere, Henry determined to make her his wife. The doctrines of his oracle, Thomas Aquinas, appeared to him poſitive in favor of a divorce. Wolſey and other prelates [a] en-

[a] All the prelates of England, except Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, declared unanitered

tered into his ſentiments. To repudiate the aunt of Charles the fifth, was a very hazardous undertaking. Every method was employed in order to ſucceed.

A. D. 1527. Henry ſollicits the pope for a divorce.

It was neceſſary to get annulled at Rome the bull of a pope: a ſtep very difficult to reconcile with the pontifical authority. Clement the ſeventh however, ſtill a priſoner to the emperor, and to whom it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep meaſures with the king of England, lent an ear to the propoſitions which were made to him. He gave Wolſey a commiſſion to examine, as legate, into the validity of the marriage, and promiſed in due time to expedite the divorce. But this pontiff, with great parts and addreſs, was defective both in courage and integrity. Charles the fifth, knowing his diſpoſition, threatened to cauſe him to be depoſed under pretence of baſtardy; for the world believed him the natural ſon of Julian de Medicis. He flattered himſelf at the ſame time with the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the

mouſly, under their hand and ſeal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful. HUME.

houſe

houſe of Medicis, againſt which the Florentines had revolted; motives ſufficient to determine Clement. Preſſed by the inſtances of Henry, he conſented anew to an examination of his marriage: he joined Campeggio to Wolſey; but without, however, engaging not to evoke the affair to Rome. The ſtudied delays of Campeggio at firſt gave ſome umbrage. He at length arrived, furniſhed with ſuch a bull as was deſired. Henry and Wolſey were the only perſons who were permitted to ſee it. It was not to take place unleſs the marriage was declared null. They began the preparations for this important proceſs.

A. D. 1529. Proceſs for a divorce.

The queen, cited, as well as the king, before the legates, threw herſelf at the feet of her huſband, and addreſſed to him a diſcourſe the moſt pathetic that can be imagined: appealed to himſelf for her irreproachable conduct during the twenty years that they had been united; proteſted ſolemnly, that her firſt marriage had never been conſummated; that in eſpouſing him ſhe had only conformed to the will of two wiſe monarchs, Henry the ſeventh and Ferdinand the

the catholic; declared ſhe would not ſubmit to the judgment of commiſſioners whom ſhe had ſuch reaſon to believe partial, and that ſhe appealed to the pope: and at length left the court, determined to appear there no more. Henry bore witneſs to her virtue; but inſiſted on the ſcruples which deſtroyed his peace of mind, as if conſcience was the guide of a prince delivered up to the dominion of pleaſure. He proved, in a plauſible manner, the conſummation of Catharine's marriage with prince Authur his brother. He threw doubts on the power of Julius the ſecond to diſpenſe with ſuch an impediment. The affair was ſpun out to a great length. Clement was either gained by the promiſes, or intimidated by the threats, of Charles the fifth. Campeggio ſuddenly ſuſpended the proceedings; the proceſs was evoked to Rome, and the bull thrown into the fire.

Diſgraces of Wolſey.

Henry thought himſelf at the moment of ſucceeding in his wiſhes, when he met with this cruel mortification. In the violence of his deſpite, he ſuſpected Wolſey of treaſon. Anne Boleyn,

Boleyn, prejudiced againſt the cardinal, contributed greatly to his ruin. A miniſter thus abſolute, a favorite thus powerful, was the victim of a caprice. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More, a man celebrated for literary merit, and more eſtimable for his virtues than even for his talents. He was commanded to leave his palace in London; which became the royal abode, under the name of Whitehall. There was found in his houſe a ſideboard of maſſy gold plate, the moſt ſumptuous moveables of every kind, and, amongſt other valuable effects, a thouſand pieces of the fineſt holland. The king ſtill expreſſed ſome goodneſs to the cardinal: but, yielding to the ſollicitations of his enemies, he at length abandoned him to a parliamentary enquiry. The upper houſe accuſed him on forty-four articles, among which the following is remarkable, *That he had whiſpered in the king's ear, though ill of a ſhameful diſtemper*. Theſe heads of accuſation, vague, weak, and deſtitute of proofs, were rejected by the houſe of commons. Thomas Cromwell, an ancient domeſtic of Wolſey, defended him

Thomas Cromwell defends Wolſey.

him with as much ſtrength of argument as courage; and acquired by this ſtep a reputation, which, far from deſtroying his hopes of advancement, as he had reaſon to apprehend, procured him at length the king's favor. So great an aſcendant has virtue even over ſouls the moſt corrupted. The cardinal, condemned for having ſolicited bulls from Rome (a pretext the more frivolous as all he had done was with the conſent of his maſter), was unable to emerge from his diſgrace. He ſhewed the weakneſs of a courtier, who perſiſts in regreting the fantom of happineſs. Retired into his dioceſe of York, he was purſued even thither by the implacable hatred of his enemies. They were conducting him to London, in order to a new trial, when he died [*b*] of a dyſentery, acknowledging himſelf culpable, and juſtly puniſhed, for having ſacrificed the ſervice of God to the affairs of the ſtate. After his death, Henry never ſpoke of him but with praiſe; and the end of this reign, leſs happy than the beginning, ſeems

[*b*] At Leiceſter Abbey.

to

to juſtify his memory from a great part of the imputations with which he was charged. It is even probable, that to the ambition of being elected pope, he joined the deſire of rendering himſelf uſeful to his native kingdom in that elevated ſtation; reſembling perhaps, in that particular, the cardinal D'Amboiſe, prime miniſter to Lewis the twelfth; but infinitely below him by his perſonal conduct, and the qualities of his heart. A miniſter odious to the nation which he governs, will be alſo ſo to poſterity, by whom he is to be judged.

The intereſted policy of the pope was only proper to increaſe the prejudices againſt the church. The firſt effects of this already appeared in parliament. Some members of the houſe of commons attacked the diſorders of the clergy, and their encroachments on the temporal power, without appearing to offend the houſe by their invectives. One of them had even the hardineſs to avow principles of irreligion almoſt unheard-of at preſent, and which our modern deiſts would not dare to avow publicly. He aſſerted, that in the midſt of ſo

many contradictory theological opinions, no one, eſpecially amongſt the people, being able to know, much leſs to examine, the doctrines of every ſect, the beſt way was, for every man to ſuſpend his judgement on all the ſubjects in diſpute; that the religion eſſential to mankind conſiſted only in believing in one ſupreme Being, and meriting his favor by the practice of virtue. A biſhop complained of the temerity of the commons, accuſing them of infidelity, and of favoring Lutheraniſm. The duke of Norfolk replied, with a heat which bordered on indecency. "*The greateſt clerks*," ſaid he, "*are not always the wiſeſt men.*" "*I do not however remember*," replied the biſhop, "*any fool that ever became a great clerk.*" The biſhop's invectives were complained of to the king: he was obliged to ſoften his expreſſions.

The univerſities conſulted on the marriage.

Henry was very glad to make the eccleſiaſtics feel their dependance and his power. Though he held the name of hereſy in the utmoſt horror, he had more than once determined to break with Rome. The policy of Clement the ſeventh, the intrigues and the

the power of Charles the fifth, deprived him of all hopes to ſucceed in gaining the divorce he ſo impatiently wiſhed. On the other ſide, to detach himſelf from the Romiſh church, appeared to him a contradiction both of his principles and conduct. Whilſt he wavered in this uncertainty, Thomas Cranmer. Cranmer, a doctor of divinity, and fellow of a college in Cambridge, in converſation propoſed an expedient, which promiſed either to remove the king's ſcruples in reſpect to his firſt marriage, or to procure the pope's conſent to his ſecond. This was, to conſult all the univerſities of Europe. If they approved the marriage with Catharine of Arragon, their ſuffrages ought to quiet the king's conſcience; if they declared this marriage unlawful, the pope could not refuſe his conſent to the divorce. Cranmer's advice was extremely reliſhed at court; and they loſt no time in purſuing it. According to ſome hiſtorians, the king purchaſed every where the voices of the doctors [*b*].

[*b*] Several univerſities of Europe therefore, without heſitation, as well as without intereſt

Whatever credit is due to this very juſtly ſuſpected anecdote, the univerſities of France, of England, and even of Italy, gave a favorable deciſion. They maintained, that the marriage of a brother with the widow of his brother was contrary to the divine law; and that, conſequently, no diſpenſation had power to authorize it.

Very ſtrong reaſons oppoſed this opinion. The Moſaic law had in certain caſes commanded ſuch marriages, though forbid in the book of Leviticus. That of the king had been twenty years conſummated without the legality of it having been ever called in queſtion. It had been uſeful to the kingdom, and approved by the ſovereign pontiff. The children who had been the fruit of it, rendered it ſtill more ſacred and reſpectable. Beſides, to examine it by the natural light of reaſon, a brother and ſiſter-in-law are not, eſpecially amongſt princes, in the caſe of thoſe near relations to whom nature and the laws forbid the conjugal union, becauſe, being ſuppoſed to

cr reward, gave verdict in the king's favor. HUME.

live

live together familiarly, the commerce of love between them would be deſtructive to purity of morals, (ſee the Spirit of laws, b. xxvi. ch. 16.) If ever there was reaſon to break through the ordinary rules, it was in favor of Catharine of Arragon, left a widow by prince Arthur after a few months marriage, at a time when Henry was ſcarce twelve years old. Humanity and juſtice ſpoke in favor of the queen; but the king was amorous and violent. The judgement of the univerſities, being favorable to his deſires, appeared to him a demonſtration. Clement in vain cited him to appear in perſon, or by proxy. He regarded his orders as an inſult, and refuſed to be judged at Rome, where he had nothing to hope

A. D. 1531. Rupture with the pope.

All theſe events tended to the ruin of the Romiſh church. The reſpect of the people for the pontifical authority grew weaker every day; and the more oppoſition the king met with, the more he was diſpoſed to remove every obſtacle which intervened. As he had imputed to Wolſey as a crime his legation, though obtained and exerciſed with his conſent,

ſo he made it one in the clergy to have acknowledged his legatine authority. They were obliged to purchaſe their pardon at the price of a hundred and eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds ſterling. They were conſtrained to acknowledge the king for *the protector and head of the church of England*; though ſome of them added however this clauſe: *So far as the law of Jeſus Chriſt permits.* The parliament went farther the following year. They prohibited the levying the annates, or firſt fruits; a tax which was paid to the pope for granting bulls to the new-made biſhops; and which, according to Mr. Hume, had produced a hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling, ſince the beginning of the reign of Henry the ſeventh. It was reduced to five *per cent.* of the revenue of every benefice. They even left the king the power of confirming or annulling this act; and declared, that all cenſures of the court of Rome on this account, ſhould be regarded as not exiſting. They took into conſideration the oath which the biſhops took to the pope at their inſtallation: and were propoſing to aboliſh

it

it as incompatible with that which they took to the king, when the plague made it neceſſary to prorogue the parliament. The chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a man of the moſt uncorrupted integrity, incapable of ſacrificing his conſcience to his intereſt, and ſufficiently a philoſopher to ſet no value on the gifts of fortune, ſeeing that all theſe ſteps tended to a ſchiſm, aſked permiſſion to reſign the ſeals; and quitted his dignity with more joy than another would have felt in acquiring it. Sir T. More.

Clement the ſeventh, preſſed by the emperor, had admitted the queen's appeal. Henry perſiſted in refuſing to appear. He ſent deputies to juſtify his refuſal; he brought about an interview with Francis the firſt, and renewed an alliance ſo neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture. At length, not being able to determine the queen to deſiſt from her oppoſition, he privately married Anne Boleyn, who became pregnant ſoon after. Doctor Cranmer, raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, pronounced the ſentence of divorce, which they could not obtain from Rome; he confirmed the newly con- Henry eſpouſes Anne Boleyn. A. D. 1533.

tracted marriage; Anne was ſolemnly crowned; ſhe was delivered of the famous Elizabeth, on whom the king conferred the title of princeſs of Wales, as heireſs to the crown. This news would have been followed by an immediate excommunication, if the pope had delivered himſelf up to the violent counſels of the cardinals. But he only threatened the king with proceeding to the laſt extremities, in caſe he perſiſted in his enterprize. The mediation of Francis the firſt, whoſe ſecond ſon was to eſpouſe Catharine de Medicis, niece to the pontiff, ſeemed to promiſe a favorable accommodation. On one ſide, Henry ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to ſubmit to the judgement of the conſiſtory, provided the Imperialiſts were excluded; on the other, the pope appeared diſpoſed to gratify his deſires. The court of Rome expected the king's poſitive reply. The courier was expected on a day fixed. He did not arrive. That very day the pope aſſembled the conſiſtory, and, by a fatal precipitation, broke all meaſures, by declaring Henry's firſt marriage lawful, and pronouncing a ſentence of excom-

A. D. 1534. The king excommunicated.

excommunication againſt him, if he perſiſted in the divorce. The courier arrived two days after, with the monarch's letter. But the evil was without remedy; and no event ever proved more clearly what pernicious conſequences may attend one falſe ſtep in affairs of importance. The kingdom of all Europe the moſt devoted to the ſee of Rome, and the moſt laviſh in its gifts, became its moſt irreconcileable enemy. Two days patience would have prevented this ſchiſm.

The pope's authority deſtroyed.

When a breach is once made in the eſtabliſhed religion of any country, ſucceſs naturally inſpires new attempts; and what before was held ſacred, appears ſoon in a light either odious or contemptible. The parliament had already proſcribed appeals to Rome, proviſions, bulls, and other claims of the apoſtolic chamber. Some eccleſiaſtics had already preached, that the pope was only a biſhop, whoſe juriſdiction did not extend beyond his dioceſe. The people adopted this doctrine; it was become the rule of parliament; the clergy themſelves conformed to it, acknowledged the king's power to aſſemble them, and

promiſed to make no new canon or ſtatute without his conſent; and even agreed that his majeſty ſhould name commiſſaries to abrogate ſuch of the ancient canons as appeared prejudicial to the royal authority. The excommunication fulminated by Clement the ſeventh redoubled the national ardor. The king's appeal to a general council was affixed to the gates of all the churches. The clergy declared the biſhop of Rome had no authority in England; and that the power which he and his predeceſſors had hitherto exerciſed was an uſurpation tolerated by the ſovereigns. They ratified anew the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn; and ordered an oath to be taken, by which the ſucceſſion was acknowledged to belong to their poſterity. Sir Thomas More and biſhop Fiſher, ſcrupling to take it like the others, were impriſoned in the Tower: the parliament at length gave to the king the title of *Supreme Head* of the Engliſh church; a title to which they attached all the ſpiritual authority of the pope, with the firſt fruits and tenths, which had before increaſed the pontifical treaſury.

The king *ſupreme head* of the church.

In

In every view of Engliſh policy, the union of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers muſt neceſſarily produce many advantages. All fear of danger to the nation from their ſtruggles for ſuperiority would of courſe be at an end. But a change of religion, abſtracted from all ſpiritual conſiderations, is always alarming even to policy itſelf.

Every thing tended to this change throughout the kingdom, notwithſtanding Henry himſelf deteſted the new opinions. His work againſt Luther had gained him too much honor amongſt the zealous partizans of the Romiſh faith, and Luther had anſwered him with too much haughtineſs and inſolence, not to intereſt his vanity in ſtrengthening the principles in which he had been educated. In breaking with Rome, he affected the ſame zeal he had ever expreſſed for the church. The courtiers were obliged to diſſemble; to ſuch a degree they dreaded the imperious character of the monarch. Two of his miniſters, ſtrongly attached to the ancient belief, the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, by pretending

to acknowledge his ſupremacy, excited his hatred againſt the innovators; whilſt the queen, Thomas Cromwell ſecretary of ſtate, and Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſecretly favored Lutheraniſm, puſhed him on to the laſt extremities againſt the holy ſee, by appearing to imitate his attachment to the eſtabliſhed doctrines. The king, without penetrating their intentions, followed his inclinations and his prejudices with ſo much the more ardor, as he found in the different parties an equal complaiſance.

One of the reaſons which rendered the reformers odious to him, was that ſpirit of liberty which their ſect reſpired, as much calculated to make republicans [*d*] as heretics. He ſought

[*d*] Far from meriting this reproach, whoever is perfectly acquainted with the doctrines, the forms, and the ſpirit, of the church of England, will, the tranſlator perſuades herſelf, readily allow, not only that it is peculiarly adapted to a mixed monarchy like ours, but that it is of all eſtabliſhments moſt favorable to rational obedience, as well as to well-regulated freedom. It ought to be remembered, and remembered with gratitude, that this church has ever ſtood fore-

to

to eradicate them by torments; but deceived himſelf, like many other princes, whoſe perſecuting zeal has only inflamed the fanaticiſm of ſectaries. A gentleman and a prieſt, having abjured the opinions of Luther, were ſtruck with ſuch keen remorſe, that they voluntarily devoted themſelves to the ſtake, and ſupported their tortures with unſhaken reſolution. Another perſon, ſentenced to expire in the flames, burſt into tranſports of joy, embraced the faggots which were prepared for his puniſhment, and died with all the triumphant exultation of a martyr. All were puniſhed as heretics who taught their children the Lord's prayer in Engliſh, read the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, ſpoke againſt pilgrimages and other ſimilar practices, neglected the faſts of the church, &c. The Spaniſh inquiſition ſeemed to reign in England. The Romaniſts however, eſpecially the prieſts, regarded as unpardonable Henry's defection from the pope. A Franciſcan dared to tell him from the pulpit, "That

moſt to defend both the rights of the prince, and the liberties of the people, when attacked.

many lying prophets had deceived him; but that he, as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's." The king reſtrained himſelf. Some days after, a new preacher declaimed againſt the laſt. He was interrupted by another Franciſcan, who reproached him with being one of thoſe falſe prophets who endeavored to corrupt the prince. The king contented himſelf with impoſing ſilence on this monk. He was at length ſummoned before the council; and the earl of Eſſex telling him he deſerved to be thrown into the Thames; "*The road to heaven*," replied he, "*is as ſhort by water as by land.*"

The maid of Kent.

Fraud united with the inſolence of the male-contents. Elizabeth Barton, a female enthuſiaſt, being ſubject to convulſions of an extraordinary kind, was inſtructed by ſome clerical impoſtors [*e*] to aſſume the character of an inſpired perſon; and to feign a miraculous cure, in order to attract a crowd to an image of the virgin, from which they hoped to draw great pro-

[*e*] Richard Maſters, vicar of Aldington in Kent, Elizabeth's place of abode; and Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury.

fit. She played her part with ſuch addreſs, that even ſome of the prelates [*f*] were deceived. The reputation of Elizabeth, the fame of her revelations, ſpread all over the kingdom. The more partizans ſhe gained by the popular credulity, the more the confidence and effrontery of her directors increaſed. The propheteſs preſumed to utter invectives, not only againſt the reformation, but againſt the king's divorce; and threatened him with immediate death, if he perſiſted in his crime. Several monks declared for her. They publiſhed a collection of her propheſies and miracles. They exhorted Catharine of Arragon to continue firm. Proceedings ſo very ſuſpicious at length attracted Henry's attention. Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices were arreſted. They confeſſed their villainy. The parliament condemned them; and the king's averſion to the clergy, both ſecular and regular, became more furious than ever. To deny his ſupremacy, was high treaſon; as if this title

[*f*] Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter.

had

had been always inherent in the crown. A great number of monks and other eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives without having committed any other crime. This was but the prelude to thoſe famous executions which mark with blood the latter part of this reign. Henry had too ſtrong a bent to tyranny to ſtop, after he had given the rein to his paſſions.

A. D. 1535. Execution of Fiſher and More.

The biſhop of Rocheſter, John Fiſher, a prelate honored with the king's confidence, worthy by his virtues and learning of the public veneration, unſhaken amidſt all the horrors of his priſon, indifferent to the dignity of cardinal which he had juſt received, refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, was tried, condemned, and ſoon after executed. Sir Thomas More was not long before he followed him. They could not even charge him with a formal refuſal. He only replied to thoſe who preſſed him to take the oath, "That any queſtion on that article was like a two-edged ſword; that either the ſoul or body muſt be deſtroyed, whether thoſe queſtioned obeyed or reſiſted." This expreſſion was ſufficient to his condemnation. He carried

ried with him to the ſcaffold the ſerenity of his ſoul, and even the facetiouſneſs and gaiety of his humor. He deſired the executioner to ſtay till he put aſide his beard, "for, ſaid he, that has never committed treaſon." The genius, the virtue, the firmneſs of this great man, have immortalized him in hiſtory. An enemy to religious innovations, of which he foreſaw the conſequences, he had, when chancellor, inſpired his maſter with an extreme ſeverity towards innovators. In this he had, however, only followed the dictates of his conſcience. Zeal for the faith eſtabliſhed has often carried beyond all bounds thoſe who reflect leſs on the ſpirit of religion, than on the neceſſity of maintaining it [g].

[g] This man (Sir Thomas More), whoſe elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble ſpirit of antiquity, had given him very enlarged ſentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles, which even at preſent would be deemed ſomewhat libertine, had, in the courſe of events, been ſo irritated by polemics, and thrown into ſuch a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquiſitors have been guilty of greater violence in their proſecutions of hereſy. Though adorned

Paul

The king again excommunicated.

Paul the third, who ſucceeded Clement the ſeventh, had been favorable to the king before he came to the papacy. He was more deſirous than Clement himſelf to put an end to ſo dangerous a diſpute. They were negotiating an accommodation, when the news of Fiſher's execution rekindled the anger of the ſacred college. A cardinal put to death for defending the rights of the holy ſee, ſeemed to cry aloud for vengeance on Henry. The pontiff haſtened to hurl the thunder. He cited the king to his tribunal, excommunicated him in caſe of diſ-

with the gentleſt manners, as well as the pureſt integrity, he carried to the utmoſt height his averſion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the higheſt ſeverity. Bainham, accuſed of favoring the new opinions, was carried to More's houſe, and having refuſed to diſcover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his preſence, and afterwards ſent him to the Tower, where he himſelf ſaw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all theſe ſeverities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepeſt compunction for this apoſtacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obſtinate and relapſed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. HUME.

obedience,

obedience, declared his marriage with Anne Boleyn illegal, abſolved his ſubjects from their oath of fidelity, delivered his kingdom to the ambition of the firſt who ſhould ſeize it, pronounced void all his alliances with foreign princes and ſtates; treated him, in one word, as Gregory the ſeventh, and Innocent the third, had treated the emperors. He deferred, however, the publication of this bull till there ſhould remain no hope of peace, and till Charles the fifth, now employed againſt the Turks and the proteſtants of Germany, ſhould be able to ſecond him in theſe violent meaſures. The league of Smalcalde, where the Reformed took the name of Proteſtants, was a ſtrong barrier to the ambition of this formidable ſovereign. The kings of France and England made ſome advances to be admitted into this league. But their rigorous conduct in regard to their heretical ſubjects, or thoſe who were ſuſpected of hereſy, and their violent zeal for the ſupport of the ancient faith, did not allow the German princes to place any dependance on them. A league, formed by religion as well as policy, demanded

League of Smalcalde.

manded a conformity of ſentiments as well as of intereſts.

A. D. 1536. Propoſitions of Charles the fifth rejected.

During theſe tranſactions happened the death of Catharine of Arragon. Before her laſt ſigh, ſhe wrote to the king a very affecting letter, which touched his heart even to tears. The emperor had made every effort to avenge the honor of his aunt. He no longer thought of any thing but following the views which policy ſuggeſted, and ſet himſelf to regain Henry's friendſhip. He offered him his, on condition he ſhould reconcile himſelf to Rome, aſſiſt him in his war againſt the Turks, and join him againſt Francis the firſt, who was preparing to take poſſeſſion of the Milaneze [*b*]. The king had little deſire to contract an alliance with a prince whoſe duplicity of character was ſo perfectly known to him. His reply was a civil refuſal. He declared, that all which had been done againſt the pope, being juſt and ratified by parliament, could not be

[*b*] Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, being dead without iſſue, the emperor claimed it as a fief of the empire; while the king of France inſiſted his right to it was revived on the death of Sforza.

revoked;

revoked; that he would willingly enter into a war againſt the enemies of Chriſtianity, when peace ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed amongſt the Chriſtian princes; and that, if he concluded the propoſed treaty with the emperor, he would employ his mediation to reconcile him to the king of France, or his arms to defend him who of the two appeared to him to be injured by the other. Charles the fifth, though he failed in this negotiation, never loſt ſight of the objects he had in view. France, attacked in two places at once, in Provence and in Picardy, made a glorious reſiſtance. He raiſed the ſiege of Marſeilles, and his generals that of Peronne.

All gave way before the deſpotic authority of Henry. His people reſpected his will; they feared his anger; they even forgot ſometimes his tyranny, in conſideration of the frankneſs and generoſity of his character. His principal enemies were the monks, whoſe credit and privileges neceſſarily fell with the power of the pope. Their particular intereſt, interwoven with that of Rome, inflamed their zeal againſt innovations. The government regarded

garded them as the authors of moſt of thoſe abuſes againſt which the reformers exclaimed; they reproached them with thoſe feſtivals ſo extravagantly multiplied which burden induſtry in favor of lazineſs; thoſe merely ceremonial acts of devotion, ſo often preferred to real duties; thoſe ſcholaſtic ſubtilties which aſſume the name of profound theology, that formidable inquiſition which tyrannizes over the minds and conſciences of men. But, above all, they coveted their riches, which they were accuſed of abuſing in a very ſcandalous manner. The more they cenſured the government in their diſcourſes, the more deſirous was the king to complete their deſtruction. Fearing however to precipitate an affair of ſo delicate a nature, he took, in ſpite of his natural impetuoſity, the moſt prudent meaſures in order to facilitate its ſucceſs. As ſupreme head of the church, he gave it in charge to the ſecretary of ſtate, Cromwell, to viſit the convents in the character of his vicegerent, aſſiſted by other commiſſaries. This viſitation ſurpaſſed even the wiſhes of the court. Nothing was more eaſy than

Viſitation of the convents.

than to find abuſes and diſorders. Paſſion ſuppoſed much more than really exiſted. Doubtful evidence appeared certain; calumnies paſſed for proofs; ſeveral convents of both ſexes were painted as ſcenes of the utmoſt debauchery. Violent diſſenſions, pious frauds, the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions, lazineſs, effeminacy, and ignorance, were, according to the report of theſe commiſſaries, the leaſt imputations with which theſe religious ſocieties ſtood charged. The account of this viſitation was publiſhed, in order to render them more execrable in the eyes of the nation. Soon after they declared null the vows of all who had not attained the age of twenty-four. They obliged theſe young perſons to leave their convents; and left to the reſt the liberty, if they choſe it, of renouncing the cloiſter. The parliament, the ſimple inſtrument of the monarch's will, ſuppreſſed all the ſmaller monaſteries, the revenue of which did not amount to two hundred pounds ſterling. Theſe were thoſe in which licentiouſneſs reigned the moſt. Three hundred and ſeventy ſix thouſand were ſuppreſſed at one

The firſt blow given to the religious orders.

one blow. Their lands were given to the king; and increaſed his annual revenue thirty thouſand pounds, without counting an immenſe perſonal [i] property. This firſt ſtep led to the intire deſtruction of the monaſtic orders. The deſign was already formed. But Henry, judging it more convenient to ſuſpend its execution, diſſolved the parliament, the longeſt which had ever exiſted ſince the foundation of the monarchy. It had already ſat more than ſix years, and had been conſtantly obſequious to the will of the court.

Tranſlation of the Bible.

The convocation, held at the ſame time, took a ſtep which the Proteſtants regarded as their triumph. They complained ſtrongly, that the people were prohibited reading the Bible, that ſacred book, which contains all the truths of religion and morality, and which, being the work of the holy Spirit, could not but be uſeful, nay was abſolutely neceſſary, to mankind; they accuſed the Romiſh church of withdrawing it from their ſight, becauſe they would by reading it more

[i] Valued at a hundred thouſand pounds.

eaſily

eaſily diſcover its corruption and errors; they maintained, that, every one being intereſted to ſearch truth for himſelf in points ſo eſſential to his ſalvation, every one ought to examine the only book which was the word of God; and that, by tranſlating it into the vulgar tongue, it would be placed within the reach of all the faithful. The Romaniſts, on the other ſide, inſiſted on the great obſcurity of the ſcriptures, on the various ſenſes which had been given to particular paſſages, on the abuſes which the innovators had made of this liberty, on the inconveniences of that minute examination of which the people are ſo little capable, on the infinite number of ſects which would draw from the ſame ſource the proofs of their falſe opinions; in ſhort, on the neceſſity of an infallible tribunal, to fix doctrines, diſpel doubts, and decide controverſies. It is certain, that the liberty uſed by Proteſtants has ever turned the holy ſcriptures againſt the church of Rome; but it is no leſs true that it is the only oracle of Chriſtians. Tindal had tranſlated it into Engliſh

ſome

ſome years before; and his tranſlation, full of errors, had been burnt at London, to the great ſcandal of the party. The clergy agreed to publiſh a new one. They labored three years at this work. Cranmer and ſome other prelates, who were ſuppoſed to be the organs of the king's will, determined the aſſembly to an undertaking which would even at this time be thought dangerous, and which really appeared favorable to the progreſs of the new doctrines.

Diſgrace of queen Anne.

The decline of the Romiſh religion in England was, in great meaſure, owing to Henry's paſſion for Anne Boleyn. This violent love, which ſix years of oppoſition had not been able either to extinguiſh or to weaken, ſuddenly ceaſed amidſt the uniform pleaſures of a calm and peaceful marriage. The king became paſſionably enamored of Jane Seymour, maid of honor to the queen. Extreme in every thing, incapable of moderating his deſires, he did not bluſh to ſacrifice his wife to a miſtreſs. The enemies of queen Anne found the ſecret of inſpiring him with jealouſy, when they obſerved him ſuſceptible of hatred.

She

She had paſſed her youth in the court of France; ſhe had there acquired thoſe free manners which, though really conſiſtent with honor, have an appearance of gallantry. Her vanity was not inſenſible to the pleaſure of receiving homage; her indiſcreet gaiety made her ſometimes guilty of very dangerous indiſcretions. Calumny converts the moſt indifferent action into a crime, and is but too greedily liſtened to when it flatters the paſſions. The king was perſuaded his wife was unfaithful to him; and that, guilty of various adulteries, ſhe had added inceſt to them, by a criminal connexion with her brother, viſcount Rochford. He ordered her to be arreſted, with all thoſe who were accuſed of being her lovers. When led to the Tower, ſhe ſolemnly proteſted her innocence: ſhe wrote the monarch a letter filled with the nobleſt ſentiments, and expreſſed in terms of the utmoſt dignity, tenderneſs, and elegance; a letter capable of ſoftening any heart leſs prejudiced and leſs obſtinate than that of Henry. The trial was carried on with the utmoſt heat and violence. One alone of the accuſed

Trial and execution of the queen.

cuſed perſons charged the queen, and was inſtantly executed without having been confronted with her. No other proof was produced of the inceſt, than that Rochford had been one day ſeen to lean on her bed. The ſiſter and brother were notwithſtanding condemned, either to be burned [k] or beheaded, as Henry choſe to determine [l]. This unhappy princeſs did not ſuffer herſelf to be overcome either by fear or by ſorrow. She thanked the tyrant for his former acts of favor, reminding him, "That from a private gentlewoman he had made her a marchioneſs, from a marchioneſs a queen, and that, not being able to elevate her higher in this world, he was now advancing her to be a ſaint in heaven." She recommended to him her daughter Elizabeth. She continued to the laſt her proteſtations

[k] The ſentence of burning regarded the queen only.

[l] When this dreadful ſentence was pronounced, ſhe was not terrified; but, lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, "O father! O creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have not deſerved this death." And then, turning to the judges, made the moſt pathetic declaration of her innocence.

of

of innocence, and received the ſtroke of death with the moſt intrepid firmneſs. She had loaded with favors a great number of perſons, who paid her with ingratitude in her diſgrace.

This celebrated woman, drawn by the pens of Romiſh writers, appears a monſter; ſhe is virtuous and irreproachable, as delineated by thoſe of the Proteſtants; as if her good or bad conduct was of importance to either religion. It is in this manner, that a party ſpirit generally judges of every thing. To thoſe who form their opinions either on the degree of probability attending the facts, or the weak proofs by which they were ſupported, or who reflect on the barbarous character of her huſband, ſhe will appear much more innocent than criminal. Henry, according to Mr. Hume, made himſelf the moſt effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution. This prince thought no ſacrifice too great in order to gratify a furious paſſion. He made a ſcruple of having a concubine, but made none of ſending his wife to the ſcaffold that he might marry his miſtreſs.

The king marries Jane Seymour.

Mary and Elizabeth declared baſtards.

Henry's ſecond marriage had, as well as his firſt, been declared null and unlawful. The princeſs Elizabeth was by this means pronounced a baſtard as well as the princeſs Mary, though both were deſtined one day to fill the throne. Mary, then about twenty years of age, deſiring to regain the good graces of her father, was conſtrained to acknowledge his ſupremacy, and to renounce the pope. It was with an extreme repugnance ſhe was brought to conſent to this. But it was neceſſary either to embrace the theological opinions of this monarch, or to bear all the weight of his hatred.

Docility of the parliament.

A new parliament, ſummoned at this time, ſhewed itſelf as eaſy, not to ſay as ſlaviſh, as the preceding. The king's conduct was there exalted with the moſt ſhameful flattery. They beſtowed on him the wiſdom of Solomon, the ſtrength of Sampſon, the beauty and graces of Abſalom. They ratified his two divorces; declared illegitimate the iſſue of his two firſt marriages; and, in caſe he ſhould have no poſterity by Jane Seymour, they granted him the power to diſpoſe of the

the crown as he pleaſed: a refuſal to ſwear to all theſe articles was made high treaſon. They ſeemed eager to forge new arms to tyranny. They added, that the king, or his ſucceſſors, might revoke or annul, by letters patent, all the acts of parliament which had paſſed before they attained the age of twenty-four; which could only tend to make legiſlation weak and uncertain. New oaths againſt the power of the pope ſhut up every door of reunion with the church of Rome.

Conduct of the clergy.

The clergy aſſembled conſtantly like the parliament, and had their higher and lower houſe. Supple to the will of Henry, whoſe deſpotiſm would brook no oppoſition, the convocation decided ſeveral articles of religion conformably to the will of this prince, who would neither abandon the ancient, nor entirely reject the new, opinions. The partizans of Rome preſerved the real preſence, confeſſion, the worſhip of images, invocation of ſaints, and the ceremonies then in uſe: but the Proteſtants gained ſome conſiderable points, and modified the others. The king himſelf corrected theſe articles. Sufficiently abſolute

to give law to the theologians, he was desirous also to domineer over the consciences of the people. He was perhaps, in his whole dominions, the only person who really believed exactly in the manner in which the clergy appeared to do. Neither Protestant nor Catholic admitted such a mixture of doctrine. They yielded, because it was impossible to resist. We shall see still more singular examples of the condescension of the English in affairs of religion.

A leaven of rebellion, however, still fermented in some of the provinces; every change of religion necessarily and naturally producing popular disturbances. The destruction of the smaller monasteries, the distress of so many religious persons, deprived of their effects and houses, and reduced to ask alms; the chagrin of seeing so many noble foundations, to which self-interest or piety attached such importance, perish; the fear that the souls of the founders might suffer in the other world from the interruption of the prayers said for them in this; all these motives strongly affected a great number of those who adhered

to

to the ancient faith; and the diſcontent of the monks was ſpread every where by very frequent and warm complaints. The ſecular clergy ſoon found cauſe to complain in their turn. Cromwell, who, in the character of vicar general, or vicegerent, of the king, exerciſed an abſolute and unheard-of authority in the church, had recently ſuppreſſed a great number of feſtivals, had forbid pilgrimages and other accuſtomary devotions, and even obliged the parochial clergy to cede a part of their revenues for the repairs of churches, and the ſupport of the poor. The prieſts murmured; the people took arms; firſt in the county of Lincoln, where the ſedition was ſoon quelled; and afterwards in thoſe of York, Durham, and Lancaſter, where it was more obſtinate. The rebels marched under the banner of the croſs, preceded by ſeveral prieſts in ſacerdotal habits, with the name of Jeſus embroidered on their ſleeves, having all taken an oath, that they entered into *The pilgrimage of grace* (the name they gave to their enterprize), only for the love of God, the ſervice of the king, the re-eſtabliſhment of the church, and

Pilgrimage of grace.

the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. They took York and Hull; and only the prudence of the duke of Norfolk, whom the king had ſent againſt them with a ſmall army, prevented their making a conſiderable progreſs. A river divided the two camps. Twice they determined to paſs it by a ford, and hazard a battle which promiſed to be deciſive. Twice they were ſtopped by violent rains, which rendered the river impaſſable. Whether this circumſtance alarmed their ſuperſtition, or that their proviſions failed, they diſperſed themſelves, confiding in the pardon which the duke of Norfolk had promiſed them. The monarch confirmed this act of clemency; but he witneſſed his indignation by a manifeſto, in which he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, "that they ſhould have dared, being a ſtupid and unexperienced populace, to cenſure his government, and attack the members of his council." Some freſh inſurrections were repreſſed with greater rigor. Henry was too powerful, too formidable, to ſuffer them to give him the leaſt inquietude.

His

His theological principles, as capricious as his humor, made him take very ſingular precautions in publiſhing the new tranſlation of the Scriptures. He allowed only one copy in every pariſh, which was to be kept in the church, faſtened by a chain: he carefully recommended to the people to uſe it with wiſdom; and not preſume to interpret difficult and obſcure paſſages, without conſulting learned men. The rage of appearing a ſkilful theologian, and of bringing all opinions to the ſtandard of his own, was one of the principal ſprings of his conduct: a kind of deſpotiſm which appears the more irkſome, becauſe the liberty of thinking is of all others the moſt natural and moſt flattering. A. D. 1538. Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

Henry determined intirely to aboliſh monaſteries, in order to have an opportunity to ſeize their ſpoils. The profuſeneſs with which he diſſipated his revenues gave new weight to this motive. He beſides regarded the monks as enemies equally turbulent and irreconcileable, whoſe intrigues he muſt either prevent or cruſh. He again made uſe of the means he had Total ſuppreſſion of monaſteries.

already employed with ſucceſs: a viſitation of the convents, ſcandalous and exaggerated relations, and general accuſations, where innocence was confounded with guilt. Whatever abuſes time and human paſſions might have introduced into cloiſters, the exceſſive multitude of which alone led to many, it is impoſſible a general depravity of manners ſhould have prevailed. The viſitors diſcovered a variety of cheats invented to impoſe on the credulous ſuperſtition of the populace; falſe relics, falſe miracles, crucifixes, and images which moved by art. They concluded that theſe impoſtures, the work of a ſmall number of monks, were common to all. They obſerved, with a malignant triumph, that their ſaints attracted an infinity of offerings, whilſt God was neglected[*m*]. At length the monaſteries were, without exception, ſuppreſſed; the images and ſuſpected relics thrown into the fire. St. Thomas

[*m*] Burnet recounts, that one year, in the church of St. Thomas Becket, there was not one farthing offered to God, four pounds to the virgin, and nine hundred and fifty pounds to the ſaint.

of

of Canterbury, the object of ſo many pilgrimages, condemned as a traitor, his bones burnt, and his aſhes diſperſed in the air. His coſtly ſhrine, enriched with diamonds, excited the monarch's avarice.

According to the calculation of hiſtorians, the yearly income of the houſes ſuppreſſed, amongſt which were ſeveral hoſpitals, colleges, and chapels, amounted to a hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds ſterling; which was about the twelfth [*n*] part of the national revenue. Henry, out of this, founded ſix biſhoprics, gratified his courtiers, and reſerved a portion for the ſubſiſtence of the monks and nuns. In order to ſilence the public murmurs, it was given out that this increaſe of the crown-revenues would eaſe the people of all impoſts, and diſcharge the whole expence of government. Thus were totally deſtroyed in England the monaſtic orders, whoſe credit had been prodigious, either becauſe the nation revered their profeſſion, or thought itſelf intereſted to ſupport it.

[*n*] According to Hume, the twentieth.

Anger of the pope.

These violent proceedings must necessarily excite the indignation of the court of Rome. Having no longer any occasion to observe appearances with a prince who himself kept no measures, it broke forth into reproaches and anathemas. Paul the third published the terrible bull with which Henry had been so long menaced. He was torn by libels, in which satyr envenomed truth. He fancied he discovered in these libels the style of cardinal Pole, his relation, a prelate learned, virtuous, but embittered by zeal for his religion, and by the violence of the king, whose esteem for him had been converted into hatred. The cardinal, fixed in Italy, was out of the reach of his revenge. He had not only attacked him with his pen, but was suspected of being at the head of a conspiracy against him. Some lords, and in particular two of his brothers, were arrested as his accomplices: Sir Geoffrey de la Pole alone escaped death, by discovering the conspiracy. It is necessary to observe here, with Mr. Hume, that the condemnation of a man who was, at that time, prosecuted by the court,

Cardinal Pole.

court, forms no preſumption of his guilt, unleſs the proceſs appears to have excited no public murmur: we do not find that this excited any.

Notwithſtanding the pope's excommunication, notwithſtanding his own bitterneſs againſt the Romiſh church, Henry piqued himſelf conſtantly on an ardent zeal for the Catholic doctrine. He made it his glory to defend it by arguments, as well as by pains and penalties; and of all theſe doctrines the moſt incomprehenſible was that which he ſupported with the greateſt heat. A ſchool-maſter, named Lambert, had maintained unorthodox opinions in reſpect to the real preſence. Cited before the biſhops, he appealed to the king. Henry was raviſhed, to be able to ſignalize publicly his theological talents. A diſpute with Lambert ſeemed to him worthy the regal majeſty. The prelates, peers, and other perſons of diſtinction, being aſſembled in Weſtminſter Hall, the illuſtrious and terrible theologian, ſeated on his throne, preſſed the ſchool-maſter cloſely on the Euchariſt; and ſeconded by the biſhops, and applauded by the ſpectators,

tors, at length reduced him to ſilence. He concluded, by propoſing to him either to change his ſentiments, or be burned alive. Lambert, who had courage, and who was not convinced, preferred the fire to the ſhame of retracting. His ſentence was pronounced, and he was executed with every circumſtance of barbarity. The monarch, intoxicated with the praiſes which were laviſhed on him on the ſubject of this diſpute, expected a more blind ſubmiſſion than ever to his principles. To think differently from him, became a capital crime.

A. D. 1539. Slaviſh conduct of the parliament.

His parliaments had ever obeyed him as ſlaves; and their ſervitude continually increaſed. He aſſembled a new one, which appeared rather the inſtrument of his tyranny than the great council of the nation. After the chancellor had declared the king's intention to enforce an uniformity of belief in his dominions, the two houſes paſſed the famous bill of the ſix articles, called by the Proteſtants, the *bloody ſtatute*. This law eſtabliſhed the real preſence, communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of the vow of chaſtity, the celibacy of the clergy,

The ſix articles.

clergy, the utility of private maſſes, and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion. Whoever denied the real preſence, was condemned to the flames, even though they recanted. Such as denied the other five articles, were ſentenced to ſuffer confiſcation and impriſonment, even after abjuration. The obſtinate and relapſed were puniſhed with death; which was alſo the puniſhment of ſuch prieſts as dared to marry. Fine and impriſonment for all ſuch as did not confeſs at the times preſcribed. There are few example of laws ſo ſevere. The primate Cranmer alone had the courage to oppoſe them; but he ſeparated himſelf from his wife [o]; and the king, who eſteemed his probity, was ſatisfied with this proof of his obedience. The parliament, by an act yet more ſtrange, gave to the king's proclamations the ſame force as to acts of parliament. Thus the legiſlative power was transferred to the crown, and the Engliſh conſtitution totally ſubverted. Theſe acts of baſeneſs did not ſuffice.

[o] The niece of Oſiander, a famous divine of Nuremburg.

In

In compliance with the king's hatred for cardinal Pole, the parliament paſſed bills of attainder, not only againſt his adherents, but againſt his mother, the counteſs of Saliſbury, almoſt without the leaſt appearance of proof. At length the eſtates of the monaſteries where confirmed to the crown, under a falſe pretext, that the abbots had made a reſignation voluntary and conformable to the laws. The ſtatute of the ſix articles reduced the Proteſtants to deſpair; but Cranmer and Cromwell, for a time, ſuſpended the execution of them; and the capricious monarch himſelf favored the party he oppreſſed, by allowing every perſon to have in his houſe the tranſlation of the Bible.

A. D. 1540. The king's fourth marriage.

Jane Seymour, the moſt beloved of his wives, died in 1537, after having been delivered of prince Edward, whom we ſhall hereafter ſee on the throne. Henry thought of another wife. He caſt his eyes on a daughter of the duke of Guiſe, already promiſed to the king of Scotland. This propoſal not ſucceeding, Cromwell determined him in favor of Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of Cleves, and brother-in-

law, the elector of Saxony, held a conſiderable rank amongſt the Proteſtant princes of Germany. Henry judged of her beauty by a very flattering picture which was ſhewed him. Scarce did the princeſs appear before he turned his thoughts on a divorce. As Charles the fifth, and Francis the firſt, were in appearance reconciled, the fear of having them both on his hands, and of breaking at the ſame time with the Proteſtant league, ſuſpended the firſt tranſports of his fury. He diſſembled, even with Cromwell, though determined never to pardon him. He created him earl of Eſſex, and made him knight of the garter. Cromwell, in his character of vicar general, harangued the parliament; the upper houſe, to flatter the king in the perſon of his miniſter, told him he merited to be vicar general of the univerſe. They were obliged to grant a ſubſidy, notwithſtanding all that the plunder of the monaſteries, and afterwards the deſtruction of the order of Malta, had added to the revenues of the crown. So inſatiable had Henry's profuſion rendered him; and to ſuch a degree had

The king diſguſted with his queen.

had his deſpotiſm rendered him maſter of the parliament!

Trial of Cromwell.

At length the ſtorm broke over the head of Cromwell. Hated by the great, who ſaw themſelves eclipſed at court by the ſon of a blackſmith; odious to the Catholics, who regarded him as the enemy of the Romiſh church; ſuſpected by the Proteſtants, who reproached him with betraying, or at leaſt not protecting, them; he no longer appeared to the eyes of the inhuman king in any light but that of a victim, whom he had a right to immolate to the public hatred. Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, had gained this prince's affection; and the duke made uſe of her influence, to precipitate the fall of a miniſter whom he deteſted. He obtained a commiſſion to arreſt him. The more highly the parliament had flattered Cromwell when in favor, the more eager were they to oppreſs him in diſgrace. He was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; and condemned without proof, or even examination. He in vain implored the king's clemency by a letter as humble as it was affecting. His ſentence was immediately

diately executed. This miniſter merited a better fate. Elevated, from the loweſt origin, to the ſummit of fortune and proſperity, he had neither been arrogant to his inferiors, nor ungrateful to his friends.

Divorce and fifth marriage of the king.

The political obſtacles to the divorce ſoon diſappeared. The emperor and the king of France, who had recently given each other the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of friendſhip, reſumed their ancient animoſity. Charles the fifth had paſſed through Paris, in his way to Flanders, whither he went to ſuppreſs a dangerous inſurrection. His rival, naturally open and imprudent, had received him with the moſt blind and implicit frankneſs, which even extended to the entruſting him with the ſecrets of his allies. Scarce out of his dominions, the emperor took advantage of this indiſcretion, embroiled him with the king of England, and, at the very moment when he ſhewed himſelf moſt unworthy of his confidence, had ſufficient addreſs to gain the friendſhip of a prince who had no other rule of action than paſſion and caprice. It was now in his power to divorce Anne

Anne of Cleves with impunity. The clergy declared the marriage null, on the pretence that ſhe had been, when very young, affianced to the duke of Lorrain; that the king had not given his *interior* conſent to the marriage, which had not been conſummated: frivolous, but here deciſive, reaſons. The parliament ratified the ſentence of the clergy; Anne conſented to the divorce, on condition of a ſettlement of three thouſand pounds a year; and Catharine Howard took her place, from whence ſhe paſſed ſome time after to the ſcaffold.

Perſecution.

The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the queen, and Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, being at the head of the council, the Catholics, whoſe party they ſupported, ſeemed to have reaſon to triumph. They executed rigorouſly the ſtatute of the ſix articles. They delivered to the flames the unhappy Proteſtants, who believed themſelves the martyrs of truth. Dr. Barnes diſputed even to the moment of his execution, as if he had been in the public ſchools; and the ſheriff preſſing him on the invocation of ſaints, *I doubt*, ſaid he, *whether the ſaints can*

*can pray for the living; but if they can, I hope in half an hour to be praying for you, and the reſt of the people here aſſembled.* Violence will always multiply theſe inſtances of enthuſiaſm. Whilſt he perſecuted the Proteſtants, Henry was not leſs cruel in regard to thoſe of the ancient faith who oppoſed the oath of ſupremacy. Both were indiſcriminately executed. Some one ſaid with reaſon, that they burned thoſe who were againſt the pope, and hanged thoſe who were for him. So horrible a degree of tyranny occaſioned ſome new appearances of an inſurrection. Cardinal Pole was ſuſpected; and on this ſuſpicion the king ordered his mother, the counteſs of Saliſbury, the laſt remains of the blood royal of Plantagenet, to be executed. This illuſtrious woman, whoſe courage old age had not been able to chill, refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence; and running about the ſcaffold, ſhe told the executioner he muſt get her head as he could. He gave her ſeveral blows before he was able to take away her life.

Execution of the counteſs of Saliſbury.

A. D. 1542. The new queen beheaded.

Whilſt the king was congratulating himſelf on his new marriage, and flattering

tering himſelf with having found a wife worthy of him, Cranmer was informed the queen had paſſed her youth in diſorder. Uncertain whether he ought to reveal or hide this fatal ſecret, he conſulted the other miniſters, and at length diſcovered the affair to the king. Henry, the moſt delicate of mankind on this article, at firſt refuſed to give credit to the ſtory, inſiſted on proofs, and found ſuch as were but too convincing. The queen and her accomplices were arreſted; the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, her grandmother, lord William Howard, her uncle, and ſome other of her relations, were condemned for having concealed her diſhonor; for under a tyrannical government the very ſentiments of nature may become crimes. The parliament was not aſhamed to ſerve as the inſtrument of this prince's fury, by laws as abſurd as they were barbarous; pronouncing ſentence of treaſon againſt all perſons, who knowing or preſuming criminal exceſſes in the queen, ſhould not give information of them to the king or council; and againſt any future queen, who, being falſely ſuppoſed a virgin before her marriage, ſhould not herſelf de-

Abſurd laws.

clare this circumſtance to the king. The laughers ſaid, the king muſt henceforth endeavor to marry a widow, for that no reputed maid would be hardy enough to venture on him. The queen was beheaded, with lady Rocheford, the accomplice of her gallantries.

Scenes like theſe would have diverted from theological diſputes any prince leſs jealous than Henry of all oppoſition to his opinions. In the view of eſtabliſhing an uniformity of belief, as if deſpotiſm could force the mind to believe, or not believe, at its will, he named commiſſaries to fix all the articles of faith; and the parliament had, in 1541, ratified beforehand all that ſhould be determined on this head, with a formal declaration that they reſted their religion, as well as every thing elſe, on the will of the ſovereign. The fruit of the labor of theſe theologians, or rather of Henry's caprices, was a little work, intitled, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, which on ſome points came near the Proteſtant doctrine, on others that of Rome. Soon after, he publiſhed a ſecond, in which his ſyſtem was extremely

tremely changed. He again limited the permiſſion of reading the holy ſcriptures; made alterations in the miſſal, and ordained, that the pope's name ſhould be eraſed from every book in which it was found: he inflamed the paſſion for novelties by reſtraining it, and the ardor of zeal by oppoſing barriers to its progreſs; but, in the midſt of his capricious and extravagant variations, he took care to reſerve all power to himſelf, in order to keep the clergy as well as the people in the ſtricteſt dependance.

Affairs of Scotland.

The king of Scotland, James the fifth, his nephew, experienced, as well as the Engliſh, the violence of his temper. The ſpirit of innovation had long ſince been introduced into that kingdom. Patrick Hamilton, a young Scotſman of noble birth, deſtined to the firſt dignities of the church, having travelled for his education about the year 1527, imbibed the doctrines of the reformation, and at his return did not diſſemble his ſentiments. A Dominican, whom he believed his friend, perfidiouſly accuſed him to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. He was proſecuted, tried, condemned to the flames;

flames; and died a hero, or an enthuſiaſt, after having cited to the tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt his treacherous accuſer, who periſhed ſoon after of a violent malady, occaſioned either by remorſe, or by the courſe of nature. The martyrdom and the prophecy of Hamilton (for theſe were the ideas entertained by the people) procured a great number of proſelytes to his faith. The clergy inſenſibly loſt their credit; the nobility watched the opportunity to enrich themſelves with their ſpoils; and the king himſelf, being poor and given to expence, did not appear very averſe to this deſign, when Henry the eighth, in order to engage him to follow his example, and to enter into a ſtrict union with England, propoſed to him an interview at York, where James promiſed to meet him. The remonſtrances of the clergy, who foreſaw the conſequences of the meeting, the offer they made him of a conſiderable free gift, their promiſe to contribute liberally to the occaſions of the ſtate; theſe motives, ſupported by the queen's influence, changed James's reſolution. He deferred his journey, and at length

excuſed himſelf intirely. Henry then waited for him at York. Enraged at this affront, he breathed nothing but vengeance. The tragical affairs of his wife Catharine Howard prevented him from following his firſt tranſports; but he did not long delay taking arms.

War with Scotland.

He declared war by a manifeſto, in which after reproaching his nephew with having failed of his word, with having given an aſylum to ſome rebels; and, retaining ſome territory which belonged to his kingdom, he revived his ancient pretenſions on the crown of Scotland, and ſummoned him to do him homage as his liege lord. An Engliſh army paſſed the Tweed at Berwick, and retreated on the firſt approach of the enemy. James was eager to purſue them. The nobility, diſguſted at the preference he had given to the clergy, refuſed him their aſſiſtance. A body of ten thouſand men, commanded by lord Maxwell, diſguſted with the king for having revoked the commiſſion of this general [q], were defeated at Solway by

[q] James deprived lord Maxwell of his commiſſion as general; and gave the command to Oliver Sinclair, his favorite.

five

five hundred Engliſh; an event which threw James into the moſt dreadful deſpair. Sorrow ſoon after conducted him to the tomb.

Death of James the fifth.

Before he expired, having learned that the queen was delivered of a daughter, the only heireſs of his dominions, he lamented the approaching miſeries of his kingdom; "of which Henry," ſaid he, "will make himſelf maſter, either by arms or by marriage."

A. D. 1543. An ineffectual treaty to unite the two kingdoms.

This marriage was really the deſign which Henry meditated. He propoſed to marry his ſon Edward to the queen of Scots, Mary, then in the cradle. Cardinal Beaton, primate of Scotland, at firſt got poſſeſſion of the regency, in virtue of a deed, which he was ſuſpected of having forged in James's name. Henry's propoſal could not be agreeable to ſo zealous a partizan of the church: but the earl of Arran, preſumptive heir to the crown, having ſupplanted the cardinal, a treaty was concluded in favor of this marriage; and it was agreed, that the queen ſhould reſide in Scotland to the age of ten years; that ſhe ſhould then be ſent into England;

and that the former kingdom, notwithſtanding its union with the latter, ſhould preſerve its own laws and immunities. Beaton, who had been arreſted, got out of priſon, ſtirred up the clergy, excited the zeal of the Catholics, revived the ancient animoſity againſt England, and at length ſucceeded in breaking the engagements contracted with Henry; and, foreſeeing that he would not fail to take arms, engaged Francis the firſt to promiſe him aſſiſtance.

Henry already complained of this prince, reproaching him with having betrayed him, with having broke his word, and omitted to pay him the ſums he was indebted to him. Theſe complaints were the forerunners of reſolutions violent and conformable to his character. He concluded a league offenſive and defenſive with the emperor againſt France. In order to have a pretext for war, they called upon Francis to renounce his alliance with the Turks, and to repair the injury it had done to Chriſtendom. On his refuſal, war was declared. Charles the fifth made it a heinous crime in his rival, to enter into this political confederacy,

League with Charles the fifth againſt France.

confederacy, of which he was himſelf the cauſe; yet did not ſcruple to ally himſelf with an excommunicated prince [r], who could ſerve the intereſts of his ambition. The parliament, ſo ſupple in every other point, granted him only a very moderate ſubſidy. The clergy were more liberal. It was obſerved, that the church had at all times contributed more than the laity. On which the emperor ſaid, ſpeaking of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, the revenues of which Henry laviſhed away on his courtiers, *That he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs.* If the parliament were frugal of the nation's money, they ſacrificed its liberty without the leaſt ſhame. Not ſatisfied with having rendered the king's proclamations equal to laws, it was enacted, that nine counſellors ſhould form a legal court, to puniſh diſobedience to theſe proclamations. By this conceſſion, not only juries, but the parlia-

[r] It may be proper to obſerve, that the partizans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no leſs odious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman. HUME.

ment itſelf, might be intirely deprived of all authority in reſpect to criminal cauſes. The king had only to publiſh a proclamation on any ſubject whatſoever; he became the judge of all acts of diſobedience to it, and the ancient regulations remained without force. One of the peers [s] proteſted againſt this law; the only example of the kind under this reign. New ſtatutes confirmed the abſolute authority of the prince in affairs of religion. Catharine Par, widow of lord Latimer, whom he eſpouſed for his ſixth wife (as if to verify what had been jeſtingly ſaid, that he would be reduced to marry a widow), had ſome inclination to the new doctrines. The Proteſtants flattered themſelves with the hope of her protection; but thoſe of the Romiſh faith triumphed on his alliance with the emperor.

Sixth marriage of Henry.

Francis the firſt, whoſe crown was menaced, began the war by a victory. He took Luxembourg and Landrecy. Charles the fifth in vain attempted to retake the latter, and was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Henry,

[s] Lord Mountjoy.

who

who had ſent him a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, gave his principal attention to the affairs of Scotland. Diſcord kept that kingdom in agitation. Matthew Stewart, earl of Lenox, diſputed the authority of the earl of Arran, reunited by intereſt to cardinal Beaton. Too weak to contend with ſuch powerful adverſaries, he ſecretly treated with the king of England. The ſeaſon not permitting any further military operations, Henry ſummoned a parliament, in order to dictate new laws. After having declared the prince of Wales heir to the crown, they reſtored the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth to their right of ſucceſſion. What is very ſingular, and proves the inconſiſtency and folly of the monarch, is, that he hindered them from repealing the act by which his daughters were declared illegitimate, and obliged them to leave him the power of excluding them, if he judged proper. The parliament completed its own diſhonor, by two bills, which could only be dictated by the moſt abject ſervility. The firſt diſcharged the king from all the debts which he had contracted by a pretended voluntary

A. D. 1544. Parliament.

Singular ſtatutes.

loan; and ordained, that all those who had been already repaid, should return the money into the exchequer. The second imposed a new oath in respect to ecclesiastical affairs; in which it was expressed, that those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken this: a clause the most absurd that was ever framed. This parliament, however, softened the sanguinary law of the six articles, by ordaining, that every accusation should be on the oath of twelve persons, and that no person should be arrested before this accusation. Such were the principal acts of this parliament. Henry would not expose himself to the mortification of a refusal, by asking a subsidy; but, as his prodigality soon absorbed all his resources, and he had occasion for money to carry on the war, he demanded new loans, levied a *benevolence*, and displayed all the powers which he fancied inherently attached to the prerogative.

The English penetrated into Scotland, and retreated after having burned Dunbar and Haddington. Lenox, who was suspected of holding a correspondence with them, was forced, by the

the earl of Arran, to fly to England. This incurſion gave occaſion to have it ſaid, that Henry had done too much, if he intended to ſolicit an alliance, and too little, if he meditated a conqueſt. But, having agreed with the emperor to invade France, he wiſhed to turn all his forces to that ſide. Their plan was, to march directly to Paris with an army of more than a hundred thouſand men, without ſtopping to beſiege any other place; and to overwhelm at one blow Francis the firſt, who had ſcarce forty thouſand men wherewith to oppoſe them. Charles the fifth arrived firſt. He took Luxembourg and Ligni, and beſieged St. Dizier. The Engliſh monarch imitated his example, by laying ſiege to Montreuil and Boulogne. Theſe ſieges waſted time. Charles, tired of a war from which he was likely to reap little advantage, treated ſeparately with Francis. Henry retired, after having raiſed the ſiege of Montreuil. He had taken Boulogne, a conqueſt which was by no means ſufficiently valuable to indemnify him for the immenſe expences of the war. The following year, a French fleet

A. D. 1545. Artillery very imperfect.

of more than two hundred ſail, attempted a deſcent on the Iſle of Wight, where they were only able to commit ſome ravages. A naval combat followed, but without any deciſive event. The cannon was at that time ſo ill ſerved, that three hundred ſhot, diſcharged by each of the fleets in the ſpace of two hours, appeared ſomething remarkable. One ſmall veſſel, according to Mr. Hume's obſervation, would at this time do thrice as much. The other expeditions, whether into Scotland or France, do not merit to be related.

Money was wanted for this ruinous war. The parliament granted a ſubſidy; and, fearing the king ſhould aſk more, added all the revenues of the univerſities, chapels, and hoſpitals; prodigal only of what, according to all the rules of juſtice, was not in their diſpoſal. The king informed the univerſities, he had no intention to plunder them. He choſe to be juſt in ſomething. One may judge of the baſe and ſervile ſpirit of this parliament, by one of their ſtatutes; in which they acknowledge the king to have been always, by the word of God,

God, ſupreme head of the church of England; that the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics held their juriſdiction from him alone; that to him alone had been granted from on high the full power of correcting all hereſies, errors, vices, and ſins whatſoever. The king complained, in an harangue, of the diſputes which had ariſen on the ſubject of religion; of the abuſes which had been made of the liberty of reading the ſacred books; in which the people had rather ſought to feed their curioſity than to regulate their morals and conduct. Theſe complaints were juſt; but he ſhould not have provoked that curioſity, and ſpirit of controverſy, by dogmatizing himſelf. With the aſſiſtance of parliament, he made new preparations for war. Nine thouſand men were ſent to Calais. Their expeditions were confined to a few ſkirmiſhes. After this, Henry, whoſe health declined, and who had taken arms leſs from animoſity than caprice, concluded a peace with the king of France, retaining Boulogne till the ſums due to him ſhould be paid. The war had coſt him one million three hundred and

A. D. 1546. Concluſion of the war with France.

forty thouſand pounds ſterling. His demand on Francis did not amount to a third of that ſum.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

Neither reflexion nor experience had been able to cure the king of his rage for innovating, or governing in eccleſiaſtical affairs. He introduced ſome new alterations, the chief of which was putting the litanies into Engliſh; he added alſo to the litany a prayer, to be delivered *from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and his deteſtable enormities.* Thus paſſion mixed even in things the moſt ſacred. Cranmer wiſhed to take more deciſive ſteps in favor of the Proteſtants. This prelate was himſelf on the brink of deſtruction at court. Death deprived him of the moſt ſincere and powerful of his friends, the duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed merit, who, according to the teſtimony of Henry himſelf, had never ſpoken a word to the diſadvantage of any one. The enemies of Cranmer, hiding their malice under the maſk of zeal for orthodoxy, endeavored to ruin him as a concealed heretic. This ſo dangerous accuſation did not ſucceed: an example

example the more ſingular, as thoſe times produced much more ſhocking inſtances of perſecution.

Executions for hereſy. Anne Aſcue.

Anne Aſcue, a young and beautiful woman, highly eſteemed, and who was connected in friendſhip with the queen herſelf, was accuſed of having in converſation expreſſed her diſbelief of the doctrine of the real preſence. The menaces of a biſhop [t] drew from her an imperfect recantation, with which he was not ſatisfied. Being thrown into priſon, and animated rather than diſcouraged by this rigor, ſhe wrote to the king, that on the myſtery of the euchariſt ſhe confined her belief to the words of Jeſus Chriſt, and the doctrine of the church; but that, not being able to admit that ſenſe of it which his majeſty gave, ſhe expected her enemies would make a crime to him of this letter. The chancellor, Wriotheſly, was ſent to interrogate her on the correſpondences ſhe had at court. Amidſt all the torments of the rack, ſhe kept the ſecret with unſhaken conſtancy. The torture had diſlocated her limbs. They carried her to the place of execution.

[t] Bonner.

She

She was burnt alive, without being prevailed on to recant. Three other unhappy perſons, executed at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſe, imitated her courage.

The queen, Catharine, ſaw herſelf on the point of being ſacrificed in her turn to the dogmatical zeal of Henry. This prince, overcharged with fat, incommoded with an ulcer in his leg, and threatened with a mortal diſtemper, found in the complaiſance and attentive cares of his wife a relief from theſe evils. Unhappily ſhe did not think with him in every thing. He talked inceſſantly on the ſubject of theology to have the pleaſure of dogmatizing. In the heat of one of theſe converſations, the queen ſuffered too much of her real ſentiments to appear. The ſuſpicion of hereſy awakened all the native cruelty of Henry's heart. Gardiner and the chancellor envenomed the wound. Articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt Catharine: the king ſigned them. This princeſs was near periſhing on a ſcaffold, perhaps in the flames, if the fatal paper had not dropped out of the chancellor's pocket, and been taken up by one of

of the queen's adherents, who carried it to her. Informed of the danger, without loſing her courage, ſhe paid a viſit to the king, whoſe fury was already a little calmed. The converſation again fell on theology. Catharine, with great addreſs, excuſed herſelf from entering on the ſubject. She told him, a woman ought to adopt the principles of her huſband, eſpecially when he was, like him, diſtinguiſhed by his judgement and profound learning: that, if ſhe ſometimes delighted in diſcourſing on ſubjects above her reach, it was becauſe it contributed to his amuſement; that ſhe had even taken the liberty of controverting his opinions, in order to enliven the converſation, and acquire knowledge, whilſt ſhe gave him the pleaſure of refuting her. *Oh!* cried Henry, *you are become a doctor; and more fitted to give than to receive inſtructions. My heart, we are again good friends* [u]. He embraced her tenderly, and ſwore to her an inviola-

[u] The reader will here perceive a trifling miſtake of the author, who has put into one two diſtinct ſpeeches of Henry, and uſed in different parts of the converſation.

ble

ble attachment. The next day, whilſt they were converſing with their uſual cordiality, the chancellor, who knew nothing of this change, arrived. Henry ſpoke to him at a diſtance from the queen, and loaded him with reproaches, calling him *fool*, *knave*, and *beaſt*. Catharine endeavoring to calm him, "Poor ſoul!" ſaid he, "you know not how little entitled this man is to your good offices!" The biſhop of Wincheſter was diſgraced from this moment. His apparent zeal for the Catholic religion was only a refinement of ſelf-intereſt. Can true zeal ſow diſcord between two perſons united by marriage; and cauſe a queen, on pretext of hereſy, to be condemned to death?

A. D. 1547. Proſecution of Norfolk and Surrey.

The nearer Henry's end approached, the more his violent humor carried him to tyrannical actions. He entertained a cauſeleſs diſtruſt and hatred againſt the duke of Norfolk, allied by his birth to the royal family, eſtimable for his long and faithful ſervices, uncle to two queens, Anne Boleyn and Catharine Howard; in ſhort, the firſt ſubject in the kingdom. The fear that he might become too powerful under

under a minority, and that his ſecret attachment to the Romiſh party might occaſion ſome revolution, were motives capable of inſpiring the king with the moſt ſanguinary deſigns. The earl of Surrey, ſon to Norfolk, a young nobleman of the moſt conſummate merit, if he had joined diſcretion to his other admirable qualities, exaſperated by ſome imprudent ſallies the fiery temper of this prince, who alſo ſuſpected him of having carried his views as high as the princeſs Mary. Both father and ſon were arreſted the ſame day. The latter was accuſed of having entertained in his ſervice ſome Italians *ſuſpected* of being ſpies; of being himſelf *ſuſpected* of a correſpondence with cardinal Pole, becauſe one of his ſervants had paid him a viſit in Italy; of having quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his eſcutcheon, which rendered him, it was ſaid, *ſuſpected* of aſpiring to the crown, though he had in this only followed the example of his anceſtors. On ſo frivolous an accuſation, on ſimple *ſuſpicions*, Surrey was condemned to death and executed. Norfolk appeared ſtill leſs culpable.

culpable. His wife and his miſtreſs had betrayed him; yet the greateſt crime of which they could accuſe him was, having once ſaid, that the king, being ſickly, could not live long, and that the diverſity of religion, might expoſe the kingdom to great diſorders. The parliament, without any form of trial, declared him convicted of high treaſon. Cranmer, though of the oppoſite party to that of the duke, retired, that he might not partake the guilt of this injuſtice. Henry gave orders for the execution of this ſentence; but he died the night preceding the time fixed, and the council were afraid to ſully, by this act of tyranny, the commencement of a new reign.

Death of Henry the eighth.

Whilſt Henry was in the laſt extremities, no perſon dared inform him of his dangerous ſtate, for fear of being puniſhed as a traitor, on a late ſtatute, for having predicted the death of the king. One of his counſellors [*w*] had at length the courage to tell him the truth. He deſired Cranmer might be ſent for; who, when he

[*w*] Sir Anthony Denny.

came,

came, found him almoſt inſenſible. Henry expired in the fifty-ſixth year of his age [x]: a prince endowed with genius, talents, courage, and that firmneſs of mind ſo peculiarly adapted to make a great monarch, but ſtained by all the cruelties which characterize tyrants; and whoſe tyranny appears ſo much the more dreadful, as it ſtifled even the complaints of his people. Strangers reſpected his power; the Engliſh ſeemed to forget his vices: poſterity regards him as a monſter. It is reported, that he reproached himſelf, when dying, *with having ſpared no man in his anger, nor woman in his luſt.* His will ſettled the crown, firſt on prince Edward; afterwards on the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, on condition they did not marry without the conſent of the council: in failure of his three children, on the daughters of his youngeſt ſiſter [y]: he ſeemed to exclude the poſterity of the

His will.

[x] And the thirty-eighth of his reign.

[y] Mary queen dowager of France, whoſe daughters were Frances Brandon, marchioneſs of Dorſet; and Eleanor, counteſs of Cumberland.

queen

queen of Scotland, his eldeſt ſiſter; and this arrangement was the effect of his averſion to the Scots. The event rendered it uſeleſs. It may not be improper to remark, as one of the ſtrange caprices of this monarch, that he ordered maſſes for the repoſe of his ſoul, though in the latter part of his life he had not appeared to admit the doctrine of purgatory. Ten parliaments, ſummoned by Henry the eighth, held twenty-three ſeſſions, yet were not aſſembled more than three years and a half in all. The monarch's abſolute will being their law, affairs were ſoon terminated; and the deſire of returning home extremely accelerated their concluſion. Tyrannical and abſurd laws multiplied crimes and puniſhments. By executing them literally, there was ſcarce a citizen who might not have been puniſhed with death. It was, for example, high treaſon to aſſert the validity of the king's two firſt marriages: it became ſo afterwards, to ſay any thing offenſive againſt the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, who were the iſſue of thoſe two marriages. Silence might even be a crime; for, when the

parliament

parliament declared the marriages illegitimate, they declared whoever refuſed to reply, when queſtioned on the articles of the ſtatute, worthy of death. Thus, in order to find any man culpable, it was ſufficient, to interrogate him, on either of theſe marriages. If he kept ſilence, he was a traitor; if he acknowledged the marriage valid, he was a traitor; if he owned it illegal, he certainly outraged Mary or Elizabeth, which was alſo treaſon. A ſtrange effect of tyranny, to oppreſs citizens by the authority of the law; that is, by the very inſtrument of happineſs and public ſecurity!

In altering the ancient religion, they reſtrained the privileges of the clergy, and the abuſe of aſylums for criminals. If they had only reformed abuſes without ſo greatly changing doctrines, the church and ſtate would have gained equally.

Tonnage and Poundage.

The right of levying tonnage and poundage was at that time regarded as a branch of the royal prerogative. The king enjoyed it ten years without an act of parliament; and when the parliament granted it him for life, according to the uſage of former reigns,

reigns, it was on the moſt flattering terms, and on the ſuppoſition that this tax was his due. The Engliſh thought otherwiſe under Charles the firſt. Reviews, muſters, and frequent military exerciſes, ſufficed to keep alive the martial ſpirit of the nation. Every man of ſubſtance was obliged to have a complete ſuit of armor. No perſon was diſpenſed with from having a bow. The ſtrength of the Engliſh infantry conſiſted ſtill in archers, who, being alſo armed with halberts, were enabled to maintain a cloſe fight whenever there were occaſion.

Commerce.

Foreign commerce extended ſcarce further than the Low Countries. The correſpondence with the Flemings was very little interrupted, even during the quarrels between the king and the emperor. Theſe people, more induſtrious than the Engliſh, came in crowds into the kingdom. This was a means of exciting emulation, and bringing the arts to perfection. But, far from feeling this advantage, of which a wiſe policy would have profited, they complained of the injury theſe ſtrangers did to the natives, and reſtrained that induſtry which they ought

ought carefully to have encouraged. The ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, and that of feſtivals, were uſeful to commerce. It languiſhed notwithſtanding, becauſe the government fettered it by fixing the wages of artizans, the price of proviſions, and prohibiting that luxury of apparel which circulates the money of the rich. Agriculture was neglected for paſturage; an ancient abuſe, directly deſtructive to population. The intereſt of money was fixed at ten *per cent.*; another abuſe, which tended to cauſe the true riches of the ſtate to be neglected.

Literature.

Amidſt the cruelties and follies of this reign, the taſte for literature made great progreſs. The greater and leſſer nobility were equally eager to honor learned men. Henry the eighth encouraged ſtudy. He founded a college in Cambridge: Wolſey one in Oxford, where he eſtabliſhed the firſt chair for teaching Greek. This uſeful foundation, at its commencement, excited dangerous quarrels. The ſtudents divided into two parties, under the denomination of *Greeks* and *Trojans*, who often engaged

gaged each other with the greateſt fury. Diſcord at length aroſe amongſt the Greeks. One part of them held the ancient pronunciation of this language, the other declared for the modern. Even religion entered in ſome degree into this diſpute. Thoſe of the Romiſh faith ſupported the firſt party, the Proteſtants the ſecond: as if they had not been able to agree, though on a ſubject ſo perfectly indifferent. The ancient pronunciation prevailed, thanks to the zeal of Gardiner, who had recourſe to the royal authority to ſupport it. Though England cultivated letters, it had yet no author worthy of immortality. The works of Sir Thomas More, eſtimable as they are, bear no compariſon with thoſe of the exalted geniuſes which his nation has ſince produced. Too many prejudices ſtill ſhed obſcurity on knowledge; and taſte had not yet had time to poliſh itſelf.

EDWARD

## EDWARD the Sixth.

SUCH is the inſtability of human grandeur, that the will of the moſt abſolute monarch ceaſes to be reſpected, when death has taken from him the power of inſpiring terror. Henry the eighth had regulated the government during the minority of his infant ſon, who was in his tenth year; he had named ſixteen teſtamentary executors, entruſted with the care of this prince, and the adminiſtration of the kingdom; he had appointed a council of twelve perſons to aſſiſt them with their advice, but without any immediate power. But he was ſcarce dead, before they deliberated on chuſing a protector, who, repreſenting the king, ſhould be notwithſtanding obliged to follow the opinion of the executors. Wriotheſly, the chancellor, a man equally active and ambitious, did not reliſh this propoſal. He ſaw no perſon in the regency above him but the primate; and as Cranmer had no inclination to mix in affairs of ſtate, he flattered

A. D. 1547. Regency. Somerſet protector.

himſelf with the hope of having the principal authority in his hands. Whatever remonſtrances he made on this ſubject, the executors thought they ſhould beſt provide for the public tranquillity by naming a protector. The choice fell on Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the young king, and the more intereſted in his preſervation as he had himſelf no pretenſions to the crown. The protector was created duke of Somerſet, and the chancellor earl of Southampton. They ſoon after deprived the latter of his office, on the pretext of his having put the ſeal to an illegal commiſſion. The partizans of the Romiſh faith loſt much in him; but his conduct towards the queen in the late reign proved that he was not actuated by a truly religious zeal.

Somerſet renders himſelf abſolute.

The ambition of Somerſet increaſing with his power, he procured from the king a patent as contrary to the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution as to the laſt will of Henry the eighth. This patent gave him, beſides the title of protector, full poſſeſſion of the whole royal authority. His council

cil was to be compoſed of all the former counſellors, and all the executors, Wriotheſly excepted. The patent alſo authorized him to appoint other counſellors at his pleaſure, and to conſult only with ſuch as he choſe. He and his council were empowered to do whatever they ſhould judge ſerviceable to the government, without incurring any penalty, from any law, ſtatute, or ordinance whatſoever. Such an accumulation of power rendered him abſolute maſter of the ſtate. The nation ſubmitted [z] to it without the leaſt reſiſtance, either becauſe the authority of a ſingle perſon ſeemed neceſſary in order to keep the contending parties within bounds, or becauſe the deſpotiſm of the late king had almoſt annihilated every ſentiment of liberty.

The Proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed.

After the chancellor's diſgrace, there remained little hope to the Ca-

[z] The connivance of the executors, and their preſent acquieſcence in the new eſtabliſhment, made it be univerſally ſubmitted to; and as the young king diſcovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was alſo in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. HUME.

tholics. Somerſet no longer diſſembled his inclination for the Reformers, nor his reſolution of extending the progreſs of their ſyſtem. He had entruſted Edward's education to perſons ſtrongly tinctured with their doctrine, and this young prince was already extremely diſpoſed to ſupport it. Several members of the council, who had ſhared the ſpoils of the monaſteries, wiſhed the intire ruin of the clergy, whoſe revenues they ſtill eagerly coveted. Others, not from intereſted, but religious motives, were animated againſt the church, becauſe they thought it full of ſuperſtitions and of errors. The idea of a worſhip purely ſpiritual, and of a perfection incompatible with nature, inſpired others with an enthuſiaſm for novelties, which increaſed in the midſt of obſtacles and contradictions. The primate, Cramer, whom the protector conſulted, was, like him, a ſincere and moderate Proteſtant, and an enemy to all violence: he was, like him, convinced, that a change could only, without danger, be brought about by ſlow degrees, and that it was neceſſary to lead the people ſtep by ſtep to the point

Moderation of Cramer.

point at which they aimed: that beſides, as the enthuſiaſm of the Reformed would naturally grow weaker by time, they ought to hold the mean between both extremes, and not to puſh too far a Reformation, which it was of ſuch importance to render ſolid and durable.

Their proceedings were regulated on this plan. The protector, in virtue of the legiſlative power attached to the crown (ſince the parliament had given to proclamations the force of laws), ſuſpended for a time the epiſcopal authority, and appointed a viſitation of all the dioceſes in the kingdom. Thoſe who were entruſted with this commiſſion, were ordered to proceed with the utmoſt prudence, to preſerve a part of the ancient ceremonies, to exhort the people not to deſpiſe ſuch as they did not think it neceſſary to aboliſh, and only to warn them againſt certain ſuperſtitious practices, ſuch as ringing bells, ſprinkling holy water, and burning conſecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil. They wiſhed, above all, to ſilence the Romiſh preachers, amongſt whom ſeveral of the ancient

monks had inveighed againſt thoſe innovations, which they had more reaſon than the other clergy to deteſt. To reſtrain their zeal, they limited the ſubjects of their ſermons, by publiſhing twelve homilies, which they were obliged to read in the pulpit. They prohibited all preachers from preaching out of their proper pariſh; yet it was determined, not to ſubject the Proteſtants to the ſame rules. Gardiner, the head of the Catholic party, a man extremely conſidered, though he was not a member of the council, ſtrongly oppoſed theſe novelties. He objected to their having treated, in thoſe homilies, on the intricate queſtions of juſtification and grace; the knowledge of which appeared to him, not only above the capacity of the vulgar, but of little benefit to Chriſtians in general. A Calviniſt writer [*a*] calls him, "an inſenſible aſs, and one that had no feeling of God's ſpirit in the matter of juſtification." It was the rage of the Reformers, to pretend to fathom thoſe impenetrable myſteries; and they entertained the moſt ſovereign con-

[*a*] Fox.

tempt

tempt for, and held unworthy the name of theologian, whoever would not with them diſcern thus clearly all rhe ſecrets of divinity.

This dogmatical preſumption, more dangerous than ignorance itſelf, excited terrible diſturbances in Scotland, the country of ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm. The Scots clergy were in general ſo ignorant, that ſeveral prieſts attributed, it is ſaid, the New Teſtament to Luther, and imagined the Old alone to be the word of God. Hiſtorians add (and this circumſtance is not unuſeful to the hiſtory of human follies), that a violent diſpute aroſe in the univerſity of St. Andrew's, on this abſurd queſtion, whether the *Pater Noſter* ought to be ſaid to God, or the ſaints. The monks, who agreed to ſupport the party of the ſaints againſt the Proteſtants, found great difficulty in agreeing amongſt themſelves in their explications. According to ſome, the *Pater* ought to be ſaid to God *formally*, and to the ſaints *materially*; according to others, *principally* to the ſaints, and *leſs principally* to God; according to the greater part, *in the ſtrict ſenſe* to God, and *in the* Religion in Scotland.

*enlarged ſenſe* to the ſaints. During the debates on theſe diſtinctions, an ignorant lay brother, being informed of the ſubject of their diſputes, told them bluntly, it was to God they ought to ſay the *Pater*. *And the ſaints?* replied the monk. O, ſaid he, *give them their aves and creeds; that is enough for them.* The deciſion of this good man was by many thought more judicious than all the ſubtilties of the doctors. At length an enthuſiaſt, named Wiſhart, preached the Reformation in Scotland in ſo bold and open a manner, that cardinal Beaton cauſed him to be arreſted, and condemned to the flames. As the regent refuſed to concur with him in this execution, he took upon him to act without the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm, and from his windows beheld the ſufferings of Wiſhart, who propheſied to him, that in a few days he would be puniſhed for his cruelty. His diſciples were determined to verify the prophecy. One of them [*b*], whom the celebrated Knox praiſes as a man of a gentle and modeſt diſpoſition, ſtabbed the car-

Cardinal Beaton's cruelty. He is aſſaſſinated.

[*b*] James Melvile.

dinal,

dinal, proteſting that he did not kill him from hatred, or any other paſſion, but only becauſe he was the declared enemy of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the holy goſpel. It belongs to fanaticiſm alone, thus to commit murders in cold blood, and to praiſe the aſſaſſin. After this event, which happened in 1546, the murderers and their adherents ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, and implored the protection of England. The queen mother, on her ſide, had recourſe to the king of France, Henry the ſecond, who ſent her artillery and troops. They obliged the aſſaſſins to ſurrender. The Engliſh had ſent them no aſſiſtance.

War with Scotland.

Somerſet, having regulated the affairs of the kingdom, reſolved to carry war into Scotland, and to execute the project of uniting it to England by the marriage of the queen with Edward. He marched himſelf at the head of eighteen thouſand men, on pretence of chaſtiſing ſome inſults received from the Scots. He declared he would liſten to no conditions of peace, of which the marriage was not the baſis. He ſet forth, in a manifeſto, the reaſons which ought to in-

duce them to conclude it: how much it imported both nations to form only one ſtate; how much Scotland in particular would gain by this union, by being delivered from ſo many calamitous wars; how much their ſituation in the ſame iſland, their common ſafety, their natural connexion, their fatal broils, proved the neceſſity and advantages of an alliance, to which they had already bound themſelves by entering with the late king into the moſt inviolable engagements. Theſe motives did not affect the queen dowager of Scotland, a princeſs of the houſe of Guiſe, whoſe attachment to the Romiſh religion raiſed an invincible obſtacle to the views and the demands of the protector. He advanced towards Edinburgh, almoſt without reſiſtance. The enemy, with an army of double the number of the Engliſh, expected him in an advantageous poſt. Deſpairing to force them from it, he offered the earl of Arran to abandon his enterprize, provided he would promiſe not to grant the young queen to any foreign prince, but to wait till ſhe was of an age to make choice herſelf of her huſband. The

more

more moderate this propoſal was, the more aſſured were the Scots of the victory. The prieſts and monks, who ran in crowds to the camp, increaſed their blind confidence, by perſuading them that God himſelf would aſſiſt them to exterminate the heretics. A motion of the Engliſh on that ſide which was neareſt the ſea, convinced them effectually that they were preparing for flight. They quitted their poſt, offered battle, and were defeated. Ten thouſand Scots periſhed. Their imprudent prieſts were refuſed quarter. This action, called the battle of Pinkey, coſt the Engliſh only two hundred men. If the protector had proſecuted his victory, he would have given law to the vanquiſhed. But there were cabals formed againſt him at London. He haſtened his return, leaving the earl of Warwick to negotiate. Arran pretended to be deſirous of peace, but aimed only at gaining time. The Scots commiſſioners never came to the place where the conferences were to have been held.

Victory of the Engliſh.

As ſoon as Somerſet returned, he ſummoned a parliament, the autho-

Laws repealed. Progreſs of the Reformation.

rity of which was to put the laſt hand to the Reformation. Several laws of the laſt reign, dictated by the imperious Henry, were abrogated as eaſily as they had been made; amongſt others, thoſe which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the bounds fixed under Edward the third; that which gave to the king's proclamations the force of laws; that which multiplied hereſies, and ſubjected them to ſo many penalties; and in particular the ſtatute of the ſix articles. Hereſy, however, ſtill continued a capital crime, and puniſhable by burning; and this crime not being defined, all depended on the diſpoſition of the judges: a bad ſyſtem undoubtedly, to ſubject the quiet, and even the lives, of citizens to arbitrary deciſions. The Romiſh religion received new blows. Private maſſes were aboliſhed; the cup reſtored to the laity; power granted to the king to create biſhops without the election of the chapters; an obligation impoſed on the biſhops to exerciſe their juriſdiction, and iſſue their mandates, in the king's name; an order to mark vagabonds with a hot iron, which was

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to aim chiefly at the monks, whom the government had reduced to beggary: theſe acts of parliament fixed a ſeal on the Reformation, and proved their reſpect to the court.

Somerſet added, by his own authority, ſome regulations which increaſed the diſcontent of the Catholics. The uſe of waxlights on Candlemas-day, of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and of palms on Palm-Sunday, were aboliſhed by an order of council; images were baniſhed the churches; auricular confeſſion was left free, and repreſented as indifferent; preaching was abſolutely interdicted, the government having in vain attempted to preſcribe rules to the preachers. They did not conſider, that the more they retrenched thoſe ceremonies which engaged the attention of the multitude, the more taſte they would naturally acquire for ſermons, which alone could ſupply the place of ſenſible objects. The Proteſtants eſpecially, who valued themſelves more than their rivals on reaſoning, loved to hear them. It was found neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the cuſtom, which was beſides ſo eſſentially

A. D. 1548.

Sermons aboliſhed.

ally connected with the ſpirit of Chriſtianity.

Mary Stuart ſent to France.

A reinforcement, which they received from France, revived the courage of the Scots. Their loſſes had only inflamed the national hatred againſt neighbors, whoſe ambition and violence they ſo much dreaded. They were now almoſt unanimous againſt the alliance with England. The earl of Huntley, who once favored that alliance, ſaid, *He diſliſked not the match, but he deteſted the manner of wooing.* The parliament of Scotland at length ſent the young queen, Mary Stuart, into France, where ſhe was ſoon after betrothed to the dauphin. This event broke all the protector's meaſures. Hoſtilities were continued without any deciſive advantage. The Engliſh were more than once repulſed: the Scots, however, found themſelves, after a long ſiege, unable to retake Haddington.

Intrigues and trial of Thomas Seymour.

Somerſet, expoſed at home to dangerous cabals, exerted himſelf but feebly againſt Scotland. He found a rival and an enemy in his brother lord Seymour, the admiral, whoſe extreme pride and immoderate ambition cauſed him

him the moſt poignant vexations. The ſentiments of nature are of no weight with the ambitious. The admiral, after having married the widow of Henry the eighth, endeavored to ſupplant the protector. His firſt intrigues failed. The council threatened him, and he appeared to ſubmit. They ſoon perceived he had reſumed his deſigns. The queen dowager being dead in childbed, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of eſpouſing the princeſs Elizabeth: he again employed every art of ſeduction to gain young Edward and the courtiers to his intereſt; he openly decried his brother's adminiſtration; he took care to attach to himſelf a great number of partizans of all ranks; he already computed that he could command the ſervice of of about ten thouſand men, for whom he had provided arms in caſe of occaſion. The protector, informed of his deſigns, tried in vain to bring him back to his duty by moderation and prudence. Dudley, earl of Warwick, who ſought only to raiſe his own fortune on the ruin of both, determined to begin by the perſon whom it was moſt eaſy to deſtroy, and

and at length engaged Somerſet to employ the whole weight of the royal authority againſt the admiral. He was ſent to the Tower. His accuſation conſiſted of thirty-three articles, which were to be laid before the council. The counſellors went to examine him in priſon. He refuſed to anſwer their interrogatories, demanded an open and legal trial, that the witneſſes ſhould be confronted with him, and the heads of accuſation left in his hands, that he might be able to defend himſelf. Force had too long uſurped the rights of law. Theſe equitable demands were rejected. The parliament was aſſembled. A bill of attainder was propoſed. The upper houſe admitted it, without any other proof than the recitals of ſome of the peers, who recounted the criminal actions of the accuſed: the lower houſe, after ſome little oppoſition, was ſatisfied with this ſpecies of evidence. The bill paſſed. Somerſet ſigned the order for execution; and Seymour was beheaded. Arbitrary judgements were become ſo common, that it was gaining much to be condemned on an appearance of proofs.

As

A. D. 1549. Religion. The liturgy.

As religion agitated violently the minds of the public, the parliament made new ſtatutes on that head. They eſtabliſhed a liturgy, drawn up by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners; ordained that the maſs ſhould be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; retrenched from it, what even wounded the principles of the Proteſtants, ſome ceremonies, and the prayers to the ſaints. They permitted marriage to prieſts, declaring notwithſtanding that it was to be wiſhed they would live in a ſtate of celibacy. The uſe of fleſh was prohibited during Lent, and the other days of abſtinence. Thus the Reformation advanced gradually, without their daring yet to aboliſh all the practices of the ancient religion. Amidſt theſe perpetual variations of the nature of hereſy, the government conſtantly puniſhed as heretics thoſe whoſe ſentiments did not agree with whatever was the received doctrine of the day. They did not perceive that they thus authorized the example they gave. The council appointed commiſſioners to ſearch after and examine the enemies of the new ritual. If they were obſtinate, and refuſed to be converted,

verted, they were to be delivered over to the ſecular arm. A woman [c] was condemned to the flames, for having uttered ſome extravagances on the ſubject of the incarnation. Cranmer, though of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, prevailed on the king to ſign this ſentence. Edward ſigned it, with tears in his eyes, ſaying to the primate, "If I do any wrong in this, you are reſponſible for it." An Arian [d], burnt for his faith ſome time after, embraced with tranſports of joy the faggots of which the fire was compoſed: an example much more calculated to animate than intimidate the people. Severity, however, then produced in appearance the effect which the moderation of true zeal will more ſlowly, but more certainly, always produce. The nation appeared to ſubmit to the liturgy, and the governing doctrine. There remained only the princeſs Mary, whoſe conſtancy was unſhaken.

A ſpirit of revolt, however, ſpread itſelf in the provinces, where the peo-

[c] Joan Bocher, generally called Joan of Kent.

[d] One Van Paris, a Dutchman.

ple

ple were in the utmoſt want. The ſuppreſſion of monaſteries had taken, not only from the mendicants and lazy perſons, but from the peaſants in their neighborhood, a very important reſource. The new poſſeſſors of the conventual eſtates, men of quality and courtiers, had conſiderably raiſed their farms, of which they conſumed the revenues at a diſtance. The wool trade alſo being then the principal ſource of riches, the proprietors deſpiſed agriculture, and preferred incloſing their lands for paſturage. Many hands were become uſeleſs; the means of ſubſiſtence failed to a number of unhappy perſons; the poorer inhabitants, deprived of the commons, had no longer graſs to feed their cattle: in ſhort, the evil was ſo great in the time of Sir Thomas More, that, in one of his works [e], he obſerves, "That a ſheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces." The alteration of the coin, a fatal expedient, employed by Henry the eighth, and

[e] The Utopia.

afterwards

afterwards by Somerſet, put the laſt hand to the miſery of the people. Baſe money only was circulated; the price of proviſions conſequently roſe, and the poor were unable to procure themſelves bread: a general diffidence and diſtreſs obſtructed commerce; with agriculture the uſual reſources fell; and the moſt bitter complaints, which ended in inſurrections, were heard from every part of the kingdom.

In the counties of Devon and Norfolk in particular, the revolt broke out with incredible fury. A prieſt in Devonſhire fanned the flame by every motive which zeal for the ancient religion could ſuggeſt. The rebels demanded the execution of the ſtatute of the ſix articles, the reſtoration of the maſs, holy water, and holy bread, &c. They marched with banners and the croſs carried before them, preceded by the hoſt, to attack Exeter, from whence they were repulſed. Thoſe of Norfolk, under the command of a tanner, carried their inſolence to the height of demanding that the gentry ſhould be ſuppreſſed, the king's council changed, and the ancient

cient rites re-eſtabliſhed in their full force. Somerſet ſent troops againſt the rebels. They were defeated, and ſeveral [f] of them executed; the remainder diſperſed. Theſe diſturbances were, however, attended with bad conſequences. The Scots recovered from their dejection; the king of France attempted to retake Boulogne. The protector had recourſe to Charles the fifth, who, employing his policy to color his ambitious attempts with an appearance of religious zeal, was afraid to unite himſelf too cloſely with the enemies of the church. It was impoſſible to ſupport alone the burthen of the war. Somerſet thought ſeriouſly of peace. A violent faction, formed againſt him in the council, traverſed all his deſigns, and at length ſucceeded in compaſſing his deſtruction.

Cabals againſt Somerſet.

Envy could not pardon him the unbounded authority he poſſeſſed. Too much haughtineſs and ambition, the ſtriking indifference he ſhewed to every one whoſe ſentiments differed from his own, the contempt, and even an-

[f] Ket, the ringleader, and nine others.

ger,

ger, with which he treated thoſe who dared to contradict him; ſuch pride, with only a moderate capacity, enflamed every hour more and more the ſpirit of diſcontent. Warwick, the moſt dangerous of his enemies, formed a conſiderable party. The protector, by favoring the people, had provoked the nobility. They miſrepreſented all his actions; reproached him with the execution of his brother, the immenſe riches which he had acquired, the palace [g] which he had built on ground taken from the church. His imprudences were charged on him as crimes. The greater part of the council declared openly againſt him, and even aſſumed the adminiſtration of government. Somerſet reſolved to reduce them by force; but, abandoned by all his adherents, and diſappointed in his hope that the people would riſe in his favor, he humbled himſelf before his enemies. Their preſumption increaſed in proportion to his weakneſs. They repreſented

[g] Somerſet-houſe; to furniſh ground and materials for which, the pariſh church of St. Mary and three biſhops' houſes were demoliſhed.

to

to the young king, that the duke had been appointed protector on condition he ſhould do nothing without the council; that he had notwithſtanding uſurped the whole ſovereign power; and that, far from taking their advice, he had acted, in reſpect to them, as abſolute maſter. Theſe remonſtances were attended to. The protector was committed to priſon, and an accuſation againſt him prepared, the principal article of which was, his uſurpation of the government. Humble and cowardly in adverſity, he confeſſed himſelf guilty, in a manner which did him the utmoſt diſhonor. The parliament deprived him of his employments, and fined him. But Warwick, no longer dreading a rival of whoſe abject behavior he had been a witneſs, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty, reſtored him to his ſeat in the council; and even married his ſon to a daughter of Somerſet.

A. D. 1550. Treaty with France.

The council of regency felt the neceſſity of peace, as ſoon as the faction which oppoſed it ceaſed to have the ſame motives for their oppoſition. They entered into a negotiation with France. Henry the ſecond refuſed to pay the

ſums which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to England for arrears of the penſion heretofore ſtipulated. He declared he would never conſent to render himſelf tributary to a foreign prince. Boulogne was reſtored to him for the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns; and Scotland was comprehended in the treaty. The project, formed ſome time after, of marrying Edward to a daughter of Henry, was never carried into execution.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

Warwick, though perfectly indifferent in reſpect to the theological diſputes which divided the kingdom, declared for the Proteſtants, becauſe their principles were thoſe of the king. Several of the biſhops, notwithſtanding their ready compliance with the court, were in their hearts of the contrary party. The council determined to deprive them of their ſees. They began by the famous Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, already perſecuted for his oppoſition to ſome arbitrary orders of the court. He in vain proteſted, that his conduct ſhould be conformable to the laws, and to the new liturgy; he in vain agreed to ſign a declaration,

declaration, that the king was ſupreme head of the church, that the book of common prayer was a godly and commendable form, and that the law of the ſix articles had been juſtly repealed. The more facility they found in him to make conceſſions, the higher they roſe in their demands. At length the apprehenſion of totally diſhonoring himſelf, rendered him firm. He refuſed to ſign any more articles [*b*]. He was depoſed by an illegal commiſſion. Some other biſhops, ſtill leſs ſuſpected, ſhared the ſame fate. It was eaſy to deprive them of their ſees, becauſe they had all acknowledged they held them only during the king's pleaſure. The courtiers, greedy of eccleſiaſtical ſpoils, extended their rapacity even to the ancient miſſals, rituals, and other Romiſh books, whoſe rich coverings excited their avarice. The libraries of Oxford were deſtroyed. Even books of literature, and thoſe of geometry and aſtronomy, the firſt as uſeleſs, the ſecond as infected with

A. D. 1551.

[*b*] The council inſiſted he ſhould acknowledge his former miſbehavior, and confeſs the juſtice of his impriſonment.

magic, ſhared in the general proſcription, A pretence of zeal colored all theſe violences. The princeſs Mary was near feeling all their rigor. The council wrote her a letter, to exhort her to change her religion, praying her to read St. Auguſtin and the ancient fathers, who would, they ſaid, convince her of the errors and impoſtures of the church of Rome. Inſenſible to theſe remonſtrances, ſhe propoſed to herſelf to take refuge with Charles the fifth. Her deſign was diſcovered. But this prince employed both intreaties and menaces to obtain for her liberty of conſcience. Edward had in the utmoſt horror what he called the *idolatry* of the papiſts; and his prejudices were ſo ſtrong, that he lamented with bitterneſs the obſtinacy of his ſiſter, and the neceſſity to which he ſaw himſelf reduced, of tolerating an idolatrous worſhip.

The advantages of commerce, and its true principles as a ſcience, were at that time little known to the nation of all Europe in which it was in time to become moſt flouriſhing. Almoſt all the trade of England was carried on by ſtrangers. The merchants of the

the Hanſe towns, or, as they were called, *Eaſterlings* [*i*], formed a company, to which Henry the third had granted very extenſive privileges. The council at length perceived the injury which theſe privileges did to the national induſtry. They were ſuppreſſed, as they had been eſtabliſhed, by the king's ſole authority. All foreigners being from this time obliged to pay the ſame duties on merchandizes, the Engliſh began to turn their views to commerce, from which they ſaw themſelves enabled to draw a greater profit.

If ambition knew any bounds, Warwick muſt have thought himſelf happy. He governed the council, he had juſt obtained immenſe [*k*] poſſeſſions with the title of duke of Northumberland. But theſe gifts of fortune inflamed, inſtead of ſatisfying, his de- Trial of Somerſet.

[*i*] Monſ. Milot here falls into a miſtake, which the tranſlator thought it beſt to rectify in the text. He ſuppoſes the word *Eaſterlings* to mean *Aſiatics*.

[*k*] The eſtates of the houſe of Piercy, then veſted in the crown; Sir Thomas Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, having been attainted on account of an inſurrection in the laſt reign.

ſires. The duke of Somerſet, though degraded, appeared to him ſtill a rival worthy of his fears. He contrived a plan for his deſtruction, provoked him by a variety of vexations, and led him on to commit imprudences which furniſhed heads for an accuſation. He was accuſed of high treaſon, in having formed a deſign to foment an inſurrection in the provinces; and of felony, in having projected the murder of Northumberland, and ſome other members of the council. His innocence being fully proved in reſpect to the firſt of theſe crimes, he was condemned on the ſecond. The king, prejudiced by his uncle's enemies, ſuffered him to be executed. The forms of law were leſs violated in this trial than in the laſt, the privy council having examined the witneſſes.

A. D. 1552. Parliament.

Legiſlation, however, ſtill continued in a kind of chaos. The upper houſe of parliament attempted to revive thoſe terrible ſtatutes, lately aboliſhed, which multiplied to infinity the crime of treaſon. The commons rejected the bill; but they paſſed another almoſt as deſtructive to public ſecurity. They con-

condemned to heavy pains and penalties whoever ſhould give to the king, or any of his heirs, the appellation of heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel. The princeſs Mary, the neareſt heir to the crown, being of a different religion from that of the king, and each religion branding its adverſaries with theſe, and other opprobrious names, how was it poſſible this bill ſhould not enſnare many into offences againſt it? The commons, however, annexed one very important clauſe to the bill, that no perſon ſhould be convicted of treaſon, but on the oaths of two witneſſes, confronted with the priſoner. The peers reluctantly conſented to this clauſe, ſo conformable to the firſt principles of equity, as well as ſo advantageous to themſelves. "But the members of that houſe," according to Mr. Hume, "truſted for protection to their preſent perſonal intereſt and power, and neglected the nobleſt and moſt permanent ſecurity, that of the laws."

The duke of Northumberland, as rapacious as he was ambitious, laid a plan for appropriating to his own uſe the revenues of the biſhopric of Dur-

ham, one of the richeſt in the kingdom. Tonſtal, who filled that ſee, a prelate of diſtinguiſhed merit, had conſtantly oppoſed the innovations in religion, and as conſtantly ſubmitted to them when they had received the ſeal of legiſlative authority, without having been ſuſpected of any other motive for this compliance than the deſire of conforming to the laws, and ſacrificing his particular ſentiments to the public tranquillity. However great was the general eſteem in which he was held, Northumberland procured a bill of attainder againſt him to paſs the upper houſe [l]; but the commons inſiſted that the witneſſes ſhould be examined, and confronted with Tonſtal, and that he ſhould be allowed to defend himſelf. On the refuſal of the peers to conſent to theſe equitable demands, the bill was rejected, with a ſpirit which did honor to the houſe of commons. This was ſufficient to determine the adminiſtration to diſſolve this parliament, which had ſat from

[l] The only two peers who oppoſed this bill, were lord Stourton, a zealous papiſt, and Cranmer, who had a ſincere and cordial friendſhip for the biſhop.

the

the firſt year of the preſent reign. A new one was ſoon after ſummoned; and the king wrote circular letters to all the ſheriffs, requiring ſuch perſons to be choſen as were agreable to the court [*m*]: an example the more dangerous, as the liberty of elections was ſo very eſſential a part of the national liberty. The new parliament ſeemed to have no other buſineſs than to obey. Tonſtal having been depoſed by lay commiſſioners, the dignity of count palatine, attached to the ſee, was conferred on Northumberland; and the king obtained two ſubſidies, and two fifteenths. Notwithſtanding the plunder of the churches, the ſale of ſeveral eſtates which depended on them, and the four hundred thouſand

[*m*] Part of the king's letter is expreſſed in the following terms: "Our pleaſure is, that where our privy council, or any of them, ſhall, in our behalf, recommend, within this juriſdiction, men of learning and wiſdom; in ſuch caſes their directions ſhall be regarded and followed, as tending to the ſame end which we deſire; that is, to have this aſſembly compoſed of the perſons in our realm beſt fitted to give advice and good counſel."

Letters were alſo ſent from the king, recommending members to particular counties.

crowns received from France for the reſtitution of Boulogne, the debts of the crown amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Edward was inclined to œconomy; but his inſatiable courtiers devoured all that he could amaſs.

Change in the order of ſucceſſion.

The health of the young monarch declining every day, Northumberland haſtened to execute a project, which promiſed to put the laſt hand to his greatneſs. He married lord Guildford Dudley, his fourth ſon, to the lady Jane Gray, heireſs to the marchioneſs of Dorſet [*n*], niece to Henry the eighth, whom this prince had called to the ſucceſſion, after his children. The hope of fixing the crown on the head of Jane, was his motive for this marriage. To effect this, it was neceſſary to change the order of ſucceſſion, as regulated by Henry. The duke had courage to attempt this, and ſucceeded. Dextrous, inſinuating, ſmooth; ſkilled in flattery, and all the arts of courts, he led the king whi-

[*n*] The marquis of Dorſet, huſband to this lady, had been lately created duke of Suffolk, by Northumberland's influence.

therſover

therſoever he pleaſed, by repreſenting to him, the doubts which might ariſe, in reſpect to the birth of the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth; the danger of leaving the crown to either of them, after a parliament's having declared them illegitimate; the infallible ruin of the Proteſtant religion, if Mary mounted the throne; the impoſſibility of excluding her from it without alſo excluding Elizabeth, whoſe ſentiments indeed were different, but whoſe birth was liable to the ſame objections; the uncommon merit and accompliſhments of Jane; the rights which ſhe had acquired from the will of Henry the eighth, on the ſuppoſition that the two princeſſes were excluded the ſucceſſion; and the power which his majeſty poſſeſſed, of aſcertaining thoſe rights, and fixing the ſucceſſion in her perſon. Edward, dangerouſly ill, and dreading the zeal of Mary for the ancient religion, ſuffered himſelf to be gained by the artifices of Northumberland. He cauſed letters patent to be expedited, conformable to his intentions. The chancellor, and members of the council, ſigned it with

the extremeſt repugnance, and only ceded to menaces which ſuſpended their ſenſe of duty. Some days after died, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and ſeventh of his reign, Edward the ſixth, a prince mild, ſtudious, enlightened, a friend of juſtice; who had perhaps imbibed ſentiments too narrow and bigoted in affairs of religion, but capable of making his people happy by a gentle and equitable adminiſtration of government.

The parliament, under this reign, prohibited uſury, that is to ſay, all intereſt of money. In ſpite of this law, intereſt was then fourteen *per cent.*

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## MARY.

A. D. 1553. Rights of Mary.

THE rights of Mary to the crown were too clear to have been conteſted, except by the ambitious policy of Northumberland, who aimed at reigning in the name of his daughter-in-law. Even ſuppoſing the marriage of Henry the eighth with Catharine of Arragon invalid; yet this marriage having been contracted under the

the ſanction of public, as well as private, faith, and having ſubſiſted ſo many years without the leaſt doubt ariſing of its legality, was it juſt the princeſs ſhould be accounted illegitimate? The parliament had indeed declared her ſo, from a blind ſubmiſſion to the capricious will of her father; but Henry and the parliament had afterwards reſtored her to her rights in reſpect to the ſucceſſion: the whole kingdom regarded her as Edward's heireſs. Northumberland was too much hated, and indeed too much deſerved to be ſo, to expect that the order of the laws, and of nature, ſhould be changed, in favor of him and his family. He determined, before he made the king's will public, to ſecure the perſons of the two princeſſes: an important precaution, in which, however, he ſucceeded ill. Mary was within half a day's journey of the court, when, being informed of the conſpiracy, ſhe retired precipitately into Suffolk, from whence ſhe wrote, as queen, to the council and the nobility, demanding to be acknowledged and proclaimed.

Northumberland now found himſelf obliged to take off the maſk. He offered the crown to the lady Jane Gray. This young perſon was worthy of it, if perſonal merit had been a ſufficient title. To the virtues and charms of her ſex, ſhe joined talents and knowledge which would have been admired even in a man. Her ſolid and nervous mind gave itſelf up to the moſt lively taſte for literature. The learned languages were her occupation and her delight, and the reading of Plato appeared to her preferable to all the amuſements of the court. She was ignorant of the ſecret diſpoſitions of Edward in her favor. Surprized, aſtoniſhed, appalled, at this unexpected news, ſhe inſiſted on the right of the two princeſſes; ſhe ſhewed the danger of an enterprize equally daring and criminal; expreſſed her firm reſolve to lead a private life, conformable to her wiſhes as well as her birth; and refuſed a ſcepter which did not belong to her, and which ſhe dreaded as a burden. Her father-in-law, her father, her huſband whom ſhe tenderly loved, ſtrongly oppoſed this generous reſolution. She yielded

at

at length, overcome by their earneſt prayers and entreaties. She was conducted to the Tower, where it was cuſtomary for the new kings, at their firſt acceſſion, to reſide. The members of the council, obliged to attend her thither, found themſelves in effect priſoners to Northumberland, and expedited orders to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom. She was, however, proclaimed ſcarce any where but in London. The people, far from teſtifying their joy by the uſual applauſes, gave the moſt evident marks of diſcontent. In vain the Proteſtant preachers, and even the biſhop of London [o], endeavored to convince their hearers. The injuſtice of Northumberland ſeemed to efface the merit of his daughter-in-law: every one remained perſuaded of the uſurpation.

The queen proclaimed.

Mary now aſſembled forces. Her adherents dreaded her zeal for the Romiſh religion; but ſhe promiſed not to alter the laws of Edward. The people, the nobility, haſtened to range themſelves under her banners. The moſt inevitable danger threatened the

[o] Ridley.

duke. He put himſelf at the head of ſix thouſand men to diſſipate it. His abſence having removed the fears of the council, they left the Tower, and proclaimed Mary. The queen ſent an order to Northumberland, to lay down his arms. This haughty miniſter, abandoned by all his followers, betrayed the utmoſt weakneſs when he ſaw himſelf deprived of all hope. The earl of Arundel, coming to arreſt him, he threw himſelf on his knees, aſking his life in the moſt abject manner. Neither the character of the queen, nor the preſent conjuncture, permitted her to grant him a pardon; and his death appeared a neceſſary act of juſtice. He propoſed two queſtions to the peers, who were appointed to judge him; whether a man could be guilty of treaſon, who executed orders given him by the council, under the great ſeal? and whether thoſe who had ſhared in his guilt could be his judges? They replied, that the great ſeal of an uſurper was no authority; and that ſuch peers as were neither under accuſation nor conviction, were capable of ſitting as judges. Though theſe anſwers were

Trial of Northumberland.

not exempt from difficulties, the duke acquieſced in them, and acknowledged himſelf guilty. He profeſſed, on the ſcaffold, the Romiſh faith, in the hope perhaps that Mary would be the more indulgent to his family. The people, who had lamented Somerſet, ſaw with joy the puniſhment of his oppreſſor. Theſe viciſſitudes were ſo common in England, that one can ſcarce conceive how ambition could aſpire there to the great employments of the ſtate.

Acts of indulgence.

Lady Jane and her huſband had been alſo condemned. The queen ſuſpended their execution, either from compaſſion (neither of them having yet attained the age of ſeventeen), or from policy, that ſhe might not appear too ſanguinary in the beginning of her reign. The duke of Norfolk, who had been detained in cuſtody ever ſince the reign of Henry the eighth, by whom he had been impriſoned, the biſhops Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined on account of their religion, obtained their liberty, and were admitted to the queen's favor. She publiſhed, with ſome few exceptions, a general amneſty; and remitted the

ſubſidy

subsidy granted to the late king. These acts of goodness excited the public joy; deceitful appearances, to which succeeded all the rigors of tyranny. The queen, of a temper dark, melancholy, obstinate, was the more susceptible of the impressions of false zeal, as she had been educated in the most profound ignorance; and as the perpetual vexations she had met with on account of her religion, had embittered her extremely against the governing faith. Her ardor to re-establish the Catholic doctrine, degenerated soon into imprudence and cruelty. This short reign exhibits many gloomy and dismal scenes, much blood uselessly shed for the church to which the queen was devoted, and no solid advantage gained, either to that church, or to the state.

Zeal of Mary for the Romish religion.

The real designs of Mary soon appeared. The promise she had given, to maintain the regulations of Edward the sixth, was a bond too feeble to restrain her zeal. After having restored the deposed [p] bishops to their

[p] Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey.

sees

ſees, ſhe ſent ſeveral prelates [q] of the contrary party to priſon. By prohibiting preachers to mount the pulpit without a licence, ſhe encouraged the Catholics to ſpread every where their opinions. Cranmer, who had ſerved her with her father, became one of the principal objects of her hatred, as the author of Henry the eighth's divorce, and of the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation. Gardiner, who had not been leſs active in procuring the divorce, poſſeſſed all her confidence, becauſe he entered into her ſentiments in reſpect to religion. The firſt, having publiſhed an apology, in which he inveighed againſt the maſs, was accuſed of treaſon, and condemned to death. The ſecond, elevated to the rank of chancellor and prime miniſter, was the ſoul of thoſe violent counſels which tore the kingdom in pieces. We ſhall ſee, during his power, the execution of the primate.

Change of religion.

Under the two laſt reigns, the parliament had followed blindly the directions of the court. This did

[q] Holgate, Coverdale, Ridley, and Hooper; and ſoon after, the venerable Latimer.

not

not belie their uſual complaiſance. A word only was neceſſary to change the religion of the nation. The peers were intereſted to follow that of the queen; the houſe of commons was in a great meaſure compoſed of Catholics. Mary therefore was not afraid to order maſs to be celebrated in Latin at the opening of parliament; and this attack on the laws enacted in Edward's reign, was followed by a new ſtatute by which they were all aboliſhed. By leaving affairs in the ſame ſtate in which they were at the death of Henry the eighth, Mary retained the title of Supreme head of the church. It was imagined, ſhe would not have gone farther; but this was only the firſt ſtep towards the reſtoration of the ancient religion. The parliament ratified the marriage of Catharine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce, without mentioning the authority of the pope, ſo long odious in the eyes of the Engliſh. The queen, however, reſolved to re-eſtabliſh it. She ſolicited Julius the third to ſend to England with legatine powers, the celebrated cardinal Pole, whoſe merit ſhe ſo greatly eſteemed, as to have

have entertained thoughts of marrying him, he having never taken prieſts orders. Gardiner, who dreaded the cardinal's influence with the queen, retarded as much as poſſible his arrival in the kingdom.

Another propoſal of marriage ſeriouſly engaged the queen's attention. The ambitious Charles the fifth, having, by his deſpotiſm, and a zeal founded in policy, driven Germany into rebellion, and having met with a ſevere check at the ſiege of Metz, where the duke of Guiſe triumphed over all his efforts, he flattered himſelf with the hope of repairing all his loſſes by acquiring the crown of England to his family. Philip, his ſon, was a widower; Mary eagerly wiſhed an alliance with the houſe from whence ſhe drew her origin; an alliance which would alſo greatly facilitate the execution of her deſigns in favor of the Romiſh religion. The marriage was negotiated with the utmoſt ſecrecy. The commons diſcovered the ſecret. They ſaw only in this alliance the dangers which threatened the national liberty: they broke through their ſubmiſſion to the court, by making remonſtrances

monſtrances on ſo delicate a ſubject. The parliament was immediately diſſolved.

It was the advice of Gardiner, to ſuſpend till after the marriage that great intended revolution in eccleſiaſtical affairs, which it was of ſuch importance not to precipitate without the aſſiſtance of Spain. The emperor, in conſequence of this advice, retained cardinal Pole, who thought differently, becauſe, notwithſtanding his mildneſs of nature, his zeal was leſs mixed with policy. But the queen was incapable of the ſame moderation. She ordered the new ſtatutes to be rigorouſly executed. The maſs was every where reſtored; celibacy commanded as eſſential to the ſacerdotal character, and a number of prieſts deprived of their benefices, for having taken advantage of the permiſſion granted them by Edward. The viſitors, who were appointed to regulate theſe changes, forbad the clergy to take the oath of ſupremacy, though preſcribed by the laws of Henry the eighth, which had not been repealed.

The

A. D. 1554. Marriage of the queen with Philip.

The marriage of Mary with Philip was concluded, on conditions in appearance extremely advantageous to England. The adminiſtration was to remain in the hands of the queen; no foreigner could be admitted to any office in the kingdom; the laws, cuſtoms, and privileges of the nation were to ſuffer no change or innovation; the male iſſue of this marriage were to inherit, not only the crown, but Burgundy, and the Low Countries; and if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by the firſt bed, ſhould die without poſterity, the children of Mary, whether male or female, were to inherit all the dominions of Philip [r]. The publication of theſe articles, far from pleaſing the Engliſh, ſpread univerſal diſcontent. They diſtruſted with reaſon the artful character of the emperor; and ſtill more the gloomy temper of his ſon, equally turned to ſuperſtition and tyranny. They ap-

[r] Our author has omitted the following articles: That Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; and that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on her as her jointure.

prehended

prehended that the kingdom would become a province to Spain; that they would in a little time exerciſe in England the cruelties under which the old and new world groaned; that the inquiſition would diſplay there all its fury and violence; and that the advantages, which appared ſo ſpecious, covered in reality the moſt inſupportable ſervitude. All minds were diſpoſed to a revolt. Two gentlemen, Wiat and Carew, endeavored to raiſe inſurrections in the provinces [s]. The duke of Suffolk, father to Jane Gray, ſuffered himſelf to be engaged in the conſpiracy. The rebels were purſued with vigor, and diſperſed. Their leaders were taken; and a very bloody execution was the only fruit of this ill-concerted attempt [t].

Elizabeth perſecuted.

The princeſs Elizabeth expected to fall a victim to the hatred of her ſiſter, who could never pardon her being the daughter of Anne Boleyn, having merited the ſuffrages of the nation by her ſhining qualities, and having inſpired with tenderneſs Courtney earl

[s] Sir Thomas Wiat in Kent, Sir Peter Carew in Devonſhire.

[t] Above ſeventy perſons were executed.

of

of Devonſhire, a nobleman nearly allied to the crown, and on whom Mary had entertained views of marriage, which this lord had treated with diſdain. Since that time, Elizabeth had experienced every kind of inſult, both in reſpect to her birth, which her ſiſter affected to ſuppoſe illegitimate [u], and her conduct, which every art was employed to miſrepreſent. A report was ſpread, that Wiat had accuſed her in his depoſitions. He contradicted this impoſture publicly on the ſcaffold. The princeſs was, however, ſent to the Tower. But ſhe juſtified herſelf in ſo clear and evident a manner, that all pretence for this treatment vaniſhed. When at liberty, not chuſing to go out of the kingdom, ſhe rejected a propoſition of marriage made her by the duke of Savoy. This refuſal occaſioned her being again impriſoned. The gloomy jealouſy of her ſiſter prepared her a perpetual ſucceſſion of vexations.

[u] This princeſs had been ordered to take place at court after the counteſs of Lenox and the dutcheſs of Suffolk, as if her birth was illegitimate.

Lady

Execution of Jane Gray, &c.

Lady Jane Gray, though leſs dangerous, as well as leſs obnoxious, to Mary, than Elizabeth, was more cruelly treated. The revolt of her father, the duke of Suffolk, ſerved as a pretext for the execution of her ſentence. She had reſigned with joy a crown which ſhe had accepted with regret. She received with the utmoſt compoſure the order, which ſhe had long expected, to prepare for death. The Romiſh clergy moleſted her three whole days with religious diſputations, without being able to make the leaſt impreſſion on her in favor of their opinions. Her courage, and preſence of mind, appeared in a letter which ſhe wrote in Greek to her ſiſter [*u*], to exhort her to imitate her conſtancy, if ſhe ſhould ever meet a reverſe of fortune. She ſaw with a firm countenance her huſband conducted to the ſcaffold; being informed he had expired with the moſt generous fortitude, ſhe only ſhewed a noble impatience to follow him. At the time of her execution, without complaining of any one, ſhe confeſſed that her

[*u*] Monſ. Milot, by inadvertency, ſays, to the queen.

puniſhment

puniſhment was juſt, though it was againſt her will ſhe had been made the inſtrument of her family's ambition; ſhe added, that this example might be uſeful, and teach others that they might be juſtly puniſhed, without being really culpable, for actions which tended to the deſtruction of the ſtate [*w*]. Thus died, in the flower of her age, a woman whoſe beauty, underſtanding, virtues, and learning, reflected honor on the nation which gave her birth; and whoſe happineſs, if ſhe had been ſuffered to purſue her taſte for ſtudy, and act up to thoſe principles of true wiſdom ſhe had imbibed, would have infinitely ſurpaſſed that of monarchs. The duke of Suffolk was executed a ſhort time after. Sir Nicolas Throcmorton, alſo accuſed, defended his innocence with ſuch clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſoning, that the jury gave a verdict in his favor. Mary carried her reſentment againſt the jurors to ſuch a length, as to impriſon, and afterwards fine them.

[*w*] After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women, and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted herſelf to the executioner. HUME.

Sir John Throcmorton experienced the effect which violence like this would naturally produce on the minds of the judges. They condemned him, on the ſame evidence which had appeared ſo inſufficient againſt his brother.

The priſons were filled with men of rank; the government rendered itſelf every day more odious; the people were diſarmed to prevent revolts: the queen, notwithſtanding, ſummoned a parliament, which ſhe hoped to govern by the dread of her power. The emperor ſent her four hundred thouſand crowns, for the purpoſe of corrupting the members; a practice, till that time, without example. Gardiner opened the ſeſſion as chancellor; and after having expatiated in the moſt flattering terms on Mary's choice, and the alliance with Spain, he told them, the public tranquillity required that they ſhould authorize the queen to name a ſucceſſor; a ſtep which could not wound the laws, ſince they had granted the ſame power to Henry the eighth. The intereſt of the nation, this once, determined the parliament. They were afraid Elizabeth ſhould be excluded the throne, as born

of

of an illegal marriage; that Mary's attachment to the houſe of Auſtria, and her zeal for the Romiſh church, ſhould dictate to her a will in favor of her huſband, of whoſe deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter the nation was induſtriouſly reminded; in ſhort, that England ſhould be ſwallowed up in the Spaniſh monarchy. Theſe conſiderations turned the balance. When they ratified the marriage articles, they paid no regard to the chancellor's demand; they declared on the contrary, that the queen ſhould enjoy the crown alone, without ſuffering Philip to form the remoteſt pretenſions to it. They rejected alſo ſeveral bills preſented to them againſt hereſy, and refuſed to revive the ſtatute of the ſix articles. It was not uſual for the parliament to make much reſiſtance in matters of religion. Having diſappointed the views of the court, they were diſſolved.

Philip ſeemed in no haſte to meet his bride; and the queen, conſumed with impatience, expected him with an anxiety which affected her health. He at length arrived. His magnificence did not dazzle the Engliſh; Arrival of Philip.

his manner, cold, reſerved, haughty, and the irkſome ceremonial which rendered him almoſt inacceſſible, increaſed the general prejudice againſt him. Mary, charmed to live with her huſband only, loved in him thoſe qualities which diſpleaſed others. The only means of gaining Philip's heart, was to gratify his ambition. She aſſembled a new parliament, from which ſhe hoped more complaiſance than ſhe had experienced in the laſt, in favor of this prince, whoſe governing paſſion was the love of power and dominion. The court managed the elections with ſuch dexterity, that the houſe of commons appeared immediately diſpoſed to reſtore intirely the Romiſh religion. It was neceſſary to prepare the way for cardinal Pole's entrance into the kingdom, veſted with all the legatine authority. The act of attainder, formerly paſſed againſt him, was repealed; and the queen, diſpenſing with ſtatutes long enacted, authorized him to exerciſe his legation. He arrived at London, and exhorted the parliament to reconcile itſelf with the holy ſee: the two houſes witneſſed their regret to ſee themſelves ſeparated from the boſom of the church, and their

England reconciled to the ſee of Rome.

their reſolution of revoking all that ſchiſm had attempted againſt her; and humbly intreated pardon for their late defection. The cardinal willingly granted it them, in the name of the pope, and took off all the eccleſiaſtical cenſures. Julius the third received this news with as much ſurprize as joy; felicitating himſelf, that the Engliſh *ſhould thank him for allowing them to do a thing which he ought rather to have thanked them himſelf for doing.* The nobility and gentry, who were in poſſeſſion of the church lands, took care to withhold their conſent to this change, till they were aſſured they were not expected to reſtore them. The pope and the queen removed their anxiety on this head; and the parliament aſcertained the right of the poſſeſſors. The clergy themſelves acquieſced willingly in meaſures which deprived the church of all hope of recovering that power which is almoſt invariably attached to riches.

The parliament, after having reverſed all the laws which had been believed immutable, made no difficulty of reviving thoſe which lighted up the flames to puniſh hereſy. But the

averſion to Spain was ſo ſtrongly rooted, that they could never be brought to conſent that the king ſhould take on him the adminiſtration of government; and yet leſs that he ſhould be declared preſumptive heir to the crown: neither would they grant a ſubſidy for the emperor's war with France. Philip, ſeeing himſelf the object of univerſal hatred, affected a milder and more popular behaviour, cauſed ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction to be ſet at liberty, and amongſt others, Elizabeth, who was as much beloved by the nation as hated by her ſiſter. Mary Stuart would have had, after the death of this princeſs, the firſt right to the ſucceſſion; England would then have been united to France: the fear of this event was ſufficient to inſpire Philip with the appearance of a generoſity which was not in his character. The parliament was diſmiſſed when the court ſaw them firm in their
A. D. 1555. refuſals. Several members of the lower houſe, diſpleaſed with the meaſures purſued there, had made a ſeceſſion, and refuſed to attend. They were indicted in the court of king's bench; nor did the ſucceeding parliament

ment complain of this act of tyranny. We ſhall, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, ſee the commons vigorouſly reſiſt acts of authority of this nature; and oppoſe their privileges as a barrier againſt them. It was by inſenſible degrees the liberties of the Engliſh roſe to the height at which they are now arrived. They formed ſlowly new ideas, as well on the prerogatives of the crown, as on national freedom. Opinions change, and every thing changes with them.

Cruelty to the Proteſtants.

One of the great objects of the court, from this time, was to execute thoſe rigorous laws which had been lately renewed, in reſpect to religion. There were great debates in the council on the ſteps which ought to be taken. The two prelates who had moſt power and credit, Pole and Gardiner, were of different opinions. The former, ſincerely attached to his religion, and truly virtuous, adviſed moderation and indulgence. The latter, who had yielded from policy to all the caprices of Henry the eighth, and who would have had the ſame complaiſance under Edward, if he had not been driven into oppoſition; zea-

lous by intereſt, indifferent by ſyſtem, was as much inclined to violence, and adviſed inforcing the newly revived laws in all their ſeverity. The reaſons alledged by each deſerve particular attention. According to the legate, nothing is more contrary to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity than theſe dreadful perſecutions; they overturn ſociety, by puniſhing error as the greateſt of crimes; they give room to ſuſpect thoſe who employ them of not being themſelves convinced of the truths which they aim at eſtabliſhing by force; they make only hypocrites, or, what is worſe, furious fanatics; and experience proves, that inſtead of producing an uniformity of religion, they extend the progreſs of innovation, by inflaming the zeal of ſectaries, and giving them an opportunity of acquiring proſelytes by the affecting ſpectacle of their patience under the barbarities inflicted on them: a wiſe indulgence, on the contrary, extinguiſhes the fanaticiſm of ſects; prevents cabals aud inſurrections; and reconciles, ſooner or later, to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, thoſe whom prejudice had eſtranged from it, and whom intereſt

tereſt will naturally lead back, if not embittered by perſecution. According to the chancellor, theſe political conſiderations ought never to be allowed any weight in affairs of religion. God having revealed the doctrines in queſtion, it is a deteſtable crime to reſiſt his word; and the prince is obliged to puniſh this crime, in order to ſtop the contagion: no human motive ought to counterbalance the cauſe of heaven: the ſevereſt puniſhments are the beſt calculated to ſtifle hereſy in its birth, and are therefore conducive to public good; "nay," added he, "have not the Proteſtants themſelves employed them? Did not Calvin cauſe Servetus to be burned? If fear makes only hypocrites, the children at leaſt of thoſe hypocrites, educated in orthodox principles, will be ſincere, and preſerve the precious depoſite of the faith."

The reaſonings of Gardiner were ſo conformable to the inclinations of Mary and Philip, that, without reflecting on the example of Charles the fifth, whoſe cruelties had been as fatal to his religion, as they were deteſtable to his enemies, they reſolved

to let looſe all the fury of the penal laws. We will place in one point of view the moſt memorable events which this deſtructive reſolution produced during the three laſt years of Mary's reign. The dignity of hiſtory forbids either to diſſemble, or to palliate, the inhuman violences and exceſſes of falſe zeal. Theſe barbarities are a ſad, but important, leſſon to humanity.

Rogers, prebend of St. Paul's, a man highly eſteemed and reſpected by his party, was the firſt victim. Though he tenderly loved his wife [x], and had a numerous family, the powerful ties of nature did not prevent his running with ardor to meet the dreadful death which awaited him. Hooper, biſhop of Gloſter, ſhewed ſtill greater courage. During three quarters of an hour, that he lived in the midſt of the flames, he never ceaſed to pray and exhort the people, till the exquiſiteneſs of his tortures entirely ſtop-

[x] He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet ſuch was his ſerenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep when the hour of his execution approached. HUME.

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ped his utterance. Sanders, another eccleſiaſtic, embraced the ſtake, crying, "Welcome, O croſs of Jeſus Chriſt! O life eternal!" Taylor[y], his friend, repeated a pſalm in Engliſh at the moment of his execution. One of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth, and bid him pray in Latin. Another, yet more furious, gave him a violent blow on the head with his halbert, of which he died. Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, the aged and venerable biſhop of Worceſter, were burned together at Oxford, and mutually exhorted each other to patience and conſtancy. "Be of good cheer, brother," cried the latter; "we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as I truſt in God ſhall never be extinguiſhed." Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the fire ſupportable, he ſhould make a certain ſign, and kept his word by making the ſign in the midſt of his torments. The paſſion for martyrdom, inflamed by theſe examples, communicated itſelf to youth,

[y] Rector of Hadley, where he was burned.

and even to the weaker ſex itſelf. A woman, who was with child, and near her time, was burnt for her religion. She was delivered in the flames. Some of the guards would have preſerved the infant; an inhuman magiſtrate, who was preſent, ordered it to be thrown back into the fire, ſaying, they ought not to ſuffer the fruit of an execrable heretic to live.

Theſe unhappy ſufferers were not even convicted of having aſſerted any thing contrary to the ruling religion. Arreſted on ſuſpicion, condemned on their refuſal to ſign articles preſented to them, they excited the admiration of thoſe of their own party, and a general averſion to the government which inflicted ſuch barbarities. Gardiner, who had accepted the charge of carrying on this perſecution, ſeeing that executions only multiplied criminals, devolved the invidious office on Bonner, biſhop of London, a man ſtill more violent and ſanguinary than himſelf. Philip, by an artifice worthy of his character, attempted to throw on the biſhops all the odium of theſe acts of cruelty. His Spaniſh confeſſor preached one day in his preſence, and by

by his orders, that they were contrary to the ſpirit of the Goſpel. The bigoted principles of the Spaniards were too well known to allow the deception to ſucceed. The court no longer diſſembled. It eſtabliſhed a kind of inquiſition, by naming commiſſioners authorized to make diligent ſearch for perſons guilty of hereſy, to puniſh all negligence of behaviour in churches, to proceed againſt ſuch prieſts as did not preach the doctrine of the euchariſt, againſt all perſons who did not hear maſs, who did not attend the divine ſervice in their pariſhes, or who did not take holy bread and holy water. The juſtices of peace were ordered to employ ſpies, to inform them the better of the conduct of the people, and to cite the accuſed before them, without letting them know their accuſers. At length the tyranny of the adminiſtration proceeded to ſuch a length, as to ordain, by a proclamation, that all who had in their poſſeſſion heretical books, and did not burn them without having read or ſhewed them to any other perſon, ſhould be reputed rebels, and be inſtantly executed by martial law. In

A ſpecies of inquiſition in England.

the ſpace of three years, there were two hundred ſeventy-ſeven perſons burned under pretence of hereſy, amongſt whom were five biſhops, fifty-five women, and four children. It was computed, that fifty thouſand had been executed in the Low Countries ſince Charles the fifth had proſcribed the Reformers. They had not been better treated in France. Yet France, England, and the Low Countries, ſaw the new opinions gather ſtrength, and increaſe, by the puniſhments inflicted on the ſectaries.

A. D. 1555. Embaſſy to Rome.

Mary had ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to reconcile the kingdom to the holy ſee. Paul the fourth, a haughty and ambitious pontiff, made at firſt ſome difficulty in reſpect to the title of, queen of Ireland, which Mary had taken, and which he pretended to have the ſole right of conferring. He erected Ireland into a kingdom, that this title might appear a pontifical conceſſion. The principal object being the reſtitution of the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, he inſiſted much on this point; repreſenting, that the holy ſee could not authorize the profanation of holy things, and even demanding the-

the reſtitution of Peter-pence, ſo long aboliſhed. The queen, more ſtruck than the nation with theſe remonſtrances, notwithſtanding the meaſures taken at the beginning of her reign, thought herſelf obliged to ſacrifice the church-lands in her poſſeſſion, and to found new monaſteries, even in the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury. Her miniſters in vain reminded her of the intereſts of her crown. "I prefer the ſalvation of my ſoul," replied ſhe, "to ten kingdoms ſuch as England." The politic Gardiner, who died about this time, might perhaps have perſuaded her, there were other means to ſave her ſoul.

The queen odious to the nation.

It was not long before ſhe experienced the effects of the public hatred. The parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminiſter, granted her only a very moderate ſubſidy; and ſeveral members of the lower houſe ſaid aloud, "It was in vain to give much to the crown, ſince it was thus deſpoiling itſelf of its revenues." Mary ſoon after diſſolved a parliament which ſhe found intractable to her will. New vexations increaſed her ill humor. She flattered herſelf with an imaginary pregnancy.

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The cauſeleſs joy ſhe had entertained, was changed to a profound and gloomy melancholy. Philip, diſguſted with a wife very unamiable, and extremely jealous, had paſſed into Flanders to meet the emperor, and appeared to neglect her in the moſt contemptuous manner. She turned on her people the bitterneſs of that rage which devoured her, by forced and exceſſive loans, and by the moſt ruinous exactions. She ſtopped merchandizes already ſhipped, in order to extort exorbitant ſums from the merchants who had ſhipped them. Even foreigners had ſo little confidence in her, that in order to obtain from the city of Antwerp a loan of thirty thouſand pounds, ſhe was reduced to compel the city of London to be ſurety for her.

Charles the fifth abdicates, in favor of Philip.

The power of Philip was ſuddenly raiſed to a height almoſt unequalled, by the retreat of his father, Charles the fifth. This emperor, whoſe ambition and policy had ſo violently agitated all Europe, undeceived on the emptineſs of all human grandeur, reſigned to him the Low Countries, recommending to him (what neither the

the one nor the other ever practiſed) to regard as his firſt duty the care of rendering his ſubjects happy. A few months after, he ceded to him his Spaniſh dominions, and retired into a monaſtery, where he experienced, that the homage rendered to him during his greatneſs had never been really paid to his perſon. Amuſing himſelf there with making clocks and watches, without being able to produce two which perfectly agreed, he thence concluded it was impoſſible to bring men to the ſame ſtandard of belief, and unjuſt to perſecute them for their opinions. This forced conſequence proves at leaſt that he had changed his principles. Notwithſtanding the ingratitude of Philip, who, after ſucceeding him, treated him with the utmoſt neglect, he wiſhed to unite on his head the ſovereignty of all his vaſt dominions. But Ferdinand, brother to Charles the fifth, who had been elected king of the Romans, refuſed to ſerve his views; and the houſe of Auſtria was divided into two branches.

Paul the fourth, an enemy to this houſe, refuſed to crown Ferdinand, after

after Charles had reſigned the empire into his hands. "In caſe of a reſignation," ſaid he, "it belongs to the pope to name an emperor." His animoſity went ſtill further. He engaged Henry the ſecond to break the truce with Spain. Philip was averſe to war, and propoſed to govern by the cautious arts of policy, in which he excelled. But not being able on this occaſion to avoid taking arms, he endeavored to engage the Engliſh in his cauſe, who were the leſs diſpoſed to ſerve him, becauſe the queen's government was become inſupportable to them.

Execution of Cranmer.

The execution of the celebrated primate, Cranmer, filled up the meaſure of the enormities practiſed during this reign. He had been long detained in priſon. Mary determined to puniſh him as a heretic. Cited to Rome, he was declared contumacious for not appearing, though a cloſe priſoner at the time. Bonner had the cruel pleaſure of degrading him. The emiſſaries of the court employed both menaces and promiſes with ſo much addreſs and inſinuation, that they perſuaded him to acknowledge the ſupremacy

premacy of the pope, and the real preſence. When they ſaw him diſhonored in the eyes of his party, far from granting him the pardon which had been promiſed, they haſtened the order for his execution. Cranmer now reſumed his courage [z]: he accuſed himſelf of having meanly betrayed his religion; and eagerly deſired to expiate this weakneſs by the moſt terrible death they could inflict: he appeared inſenſible to the flames, extended the hand which had ſigned his recantation, and held it immoveable in the fire till it was intirely conſumed. "This hand has offended," cried he ſeveral times with vehemence. He expired the hero of his ſect [a],

[z] The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and they ſent orders, that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and thence be immediately led to execution. Cranmer, whether he had received a ſecret intimation of their deſign, or had repented of his weakneſs, ſurprized the audience by a contrary declaration. HUME.

[a] It is pretended, that after his body was conſumed, his heart was found intire and untouched amidſt the aſhes; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his conſtancy, was fondly

Cardinal

Cardinal Pole ſucceeded him in the ſee of Canterbury. The moderation of this prelate had rendered him ſuſpected at Rome; and his prudence reſtrained him from oppoſing the violent meaſures of the court, which he ſincerely diſapproved, but which it would have been to no purpoſe for him to have reſiſted.

A. D. 1557. War with France.

Whatever ſubjects of complaint Mary had againſt the king of Spain her huſband, ſhe was not the leſs a ſlave to his will: ſhe appeared as eager as himſelf to engage the kingdom to declare war with France. Philip came to England, in order to ſupport her in this attempt. The council a long time perſiſted in oppoſing him. The diſcovery of a conſpiracy, which it was pretended the court of France had excited, gave

believed by the zealous Proteſtants. He was, undoubtedly, a man of merit, poſſeſſed of learning and capacity; and adorned with candor, ſincerity, and beneficence, and all thoſe virtues, which were fitted to render him uſeful and amiable in ſociety. His moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell ſhort of the rigid inflexibility obſerved in many, made him the hero of the Proteſtant party. HUME.

weight

weight to the perſuaſions and menaces of the queen. The government declared war, and prepared to begin hoſtilities. Money was wanted, and the nation did not ſeem diſpoſed to furniſh it. It became neceſſary to extort it by thoſe odious methods which had already occaſioned ſo many murmurs. An army of ten thouſand men was ſent to join the Spaniards in the Low Countries. Philip the ſecond, whoſe talents were beſt ſuited to the cabinet, had placed at the head of his troop, Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt generals of the age. The campaign opened with the ſiege of St. Quintin. The place was weak, but defended by the celebrated admiral Coligny. The conſtable de Montmorenci advanced to his relief, and unhappily expoſed himſelf to a general action. The enemy attacked him, made him priſoner, and totally defeated his army. This battle threw all France into ſuch conſternation, that they trembled for the capital of the kingdom. But Philip loſt the favorable moment, by ſtopping to finiſh the ſiege of St. Quintin; and the advanced ſea-

ſon

ſon obliged him ſoon after to take winter quarters.

A. D. 1558. Calais taken by the French.

The French were now recovered from their panic. The duke of Guiſe had the courage to undertake an enterprize, which had been regarded as impoſſible even in the moſt proſperous days of France. In the midſt of winter, he beſieged and took Calais; a place, believed to be impregnable [*b*], and which had coſt Edward the third a ſiege of eleven months. The Engliſh were accuſtomed, at the end of autumn, to ſend away a great part of the garriſon, whom they recalled in ſpring, not imagining their attendance neceſſary in the interval. They were taught by this event, that a truly great man may ſometimes even force nature. Their regret was the greater, becauſe they had little hope of repairing this loſs. The marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scotland, formed a very redoubtable alliance againſt them. Far from being able to attack, they had reaſon to fear being ſoon reduced to act on

[*b*] Becauſe the marſhes which ſurrounded the town, rendered it (it was ſuppoſed) inacceſſible in winter.

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the defenſive. Though Scotland, filled with factions in the queen's abſence, was not in a ſtate to give England much diſturbance, yet it opened a paſſage to the French, if they choſe to attempt an invaſion. Theſe two powers, united againſt a government univerſally deteſted, ſeemed to threaten England with great misfortunes.

Parliament.

The queen convoked a parliament, in order to obtain a ſubſidy. This was a fair occaſion to cenſure the abuſes of prerogative. But they regarded at that time as rights inherent in the crown, what afterwards paſſed for uſurpations on the privileges of the people. The commons, without complaining of the proceedings of the court, granted a ſubſidy; they even paſſed, but not without a ſtrong oppoſition, an act which confirmed all the alienations the queen had already made, or might make during ſeven years, of the crown lands. A member [c] of this houſe, having expreſſed his apprehenſion, that, under the ſanction of this dangerous act, ſhe might alienate the crown

[c] Copley.

itſelf

itſelf to the prejudice of the lawful heir, was puniſhed for having failed in reſpect to her majeſty.

Conduct of Elizabeth.

The life of Elizabeth was, at this time, in continual danger. Notwithſtanding the protection of Philip, who was intereſted to defend her, this princeſs could not certainly have eſcaped the barbarous hatred of her ſiſter, if, by a conduct full of prudence, ſhe had not avoided whatever could render her ſuſpected, or awaken the voice of calumny againſt her. In the retreat, where ſhe lived, far from the court, encompaſſed with ſpies, ſhe devoted her time to ſtudy, intermeddled in no affairs of ſtate, but ſilently prepared herſelf for thē great part which ſhe was one day to act on the theatre of the world. The king of Sweden having made her propoſals of marriage, ſhe refuſed explaining herſelf till ſhe knew the queen's ſentiments; and afterwards expreſſed to Mary an averſion to marriage, which was probably no more than a pretext not to leave the kingdom. Even her religion gave way to policy. She conformed to the eſtabliſhed church, though attached to the

the contrary doctrine. To have done otherwiſe, would have been running to certain death; and the time when ſhe was herſelf to reign approached.

With the money granted by parliament and by the clergy, the queen fitted out a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail. The Engliſh made a deſcent in Britany, from whence they were repulſed; but with the artillery of ten veſſels, they contributed greatly to the victory which count Egmont gained over the French near Gravelines. The two principal armies of France and Spain, animated by the preſence of their reſpective kings, ſeemed ready to come to action. The unenterprizing character of Philip the ſecond made him prefer the road of negotiation to that of war. He demanded, amongſt other things, that Calais ſhould be reſtored to England; Henry the ſecond demanded, on his ſide, the reſtitution of Navarre to the houſe of Albret. They were diſputing on theſe two equally difficult points, when the death of Mary ſlackened the zeal of Philip for foreign intereſt.

The taking of Calais had given a fatal wound to the heart of this princeſs [*d*]. The vexation of ſeeing herſelf childleſs; the fear of leaving her crown to a ſiſter whom ſhe abhorred; the approaching ruin which threatened the Romiſh religion; the indifference of a huſband who was on the point of retiring to Spain; the hatred of her own ſubjects, whom her violences had irritated againſt her, all together cauſed her the moſt poignant ſorrow. A ſlow fever carried her off, in the forty-fourth year of her age [*e*].

Death of Mary, 17th Nov. 1558.

[*d*] The loſs of Calais ſo ſtrongly affected her, that ſhe told her attendants, they would, when ſhe was dead, find Calais at her heart.

[*e*] And ſixth of her reign. It is not neceſſary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princeſs. She poſſeſſed few qualities either eſtimable, or amiable; and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumſtance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow underſtanding. And amidſt that complication of vices which entered into her compoſition, we ſhall ſcarcely find any virtue but ſincerity; a quality which ſhe ſeems to have maintained throughout her whole life: except in the beginning of her reign, when the neceſſity of her affairs obliged her to make ſome promiſes to the Proteſtants, which ſhe certainly

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Her zeal for what appeared to her the true religion, can ſcarce be praiſed, ſince ſhe made it an inſtrument of cruelty. Even Father Orleans blames thoſe exceſſive ſeverities, after having repreſented her as *worthy of eternal fame for her zeal, for the courage with which ſhe attempted a work in which every thing ſeemed to oppoſe her, and for the ſucceſs which attended the undertaking*. We cannot eaſily conceive what there is ſo very worthy of admiration, in a violent and ſanguinary zeal, or in a ſucceſs which had ſuch pernicious conſequences, and ſo ſhort a duration. Cardinal Pole [*f*] died the

never intended to perform. But in theſe caſes a weak bigoted woman, under the government of prieſts, eaſily finds caſuiſtry ſufficient to juſtify to herſelf the violation of an engagement. She appears alſo, as well as her father, to have been ſuſceptible of ſome attachments of friendſhip, and that, without the caprice and inconſtancy, which were ſo remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that, in many circumſtances of her life, ſhe gave indications of reſolution and vigor of mind, a quality which ſeems to have been inherent in her family. HUME.

[*f*] The benign character of this prelate, the modeſty and humanity of his deportment, made him be univerſally beloved; inſomuch,

ſame day with Mary, univerſally regretted, becauſe he poſſeſſed true virtue. The mildneſs of his diſpoſition had prejudiced Paul the fourth againſt him: this haughty pontiff trod in the ſteps of Gregory the ſeventh.

The Marine. Commerce.

The naval ſtrength of the kingdom, and the extenſion of national commerce, were nothing in compariſon of what they were deſtined one day to become. Fourteen thouſand pounds ſterling having been ordered for the ſervice of the fleet, the treaſurer and admiral calculated, that, after this money had been expended, ten thouſand pounds a year would ſuffice for all neceſſary charges. The privileges of the German merchants were reſtored, at the emperor's ſolicitations, without any one's having called in queſtion this exerciſe of the prerogative. A law, paſſed in the laſt reign, by which every one was forbid making cloth without having ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years, was repealed:

that in a nation where the moſt furious perſecution was carried on, and the moſt violent religious factions prevailed, entire juſtice, even by moſt of the Reformers, has been done to his merit. HUME.

pealed: an abſurd law, as Mr. Hume obſerves, which had ruined ſeveral towns, and occaſioned the decay of the woollen manufactory. "It is ſtrange," ſays this hiſtorian, "that Edward's law ſhould have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and ſtill more ſtrange, that it ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt." The Engliſh had, under the laſt reign, diſcovered a paſſage to Archangel, which greatly facilitated to them the commerce with Muſcovy. The czar ſent ambaſſadors to the queen. This was, perhaps, the firſt time that this empire had held any intercourſe with the weſtern nations of Europe. A law, paſſed in the reign of Mary, fixed the number of horſes and arms which every one, according to his ability, was to furniſh for the defence of the kingdom. Thoſe who poſſeſſed a thouſand pounds a year revenue (which was the richeſt claſs), were obliged to maintain ſix horſes, with harneſs, fit for the cavalry who were armed with lances, and ten for the light horſe. They were to furniſh, beſides, forty pikes, thirty halberds, twenty arquebuſes, &c. This method appears ſubject

to many inconveniences. The revenues of the crown, and the parliamentary ſubſidies, were ſo very moderate, that the government, doubtleſs, could find no other means of equipping the troops.

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END OF VOL. II.